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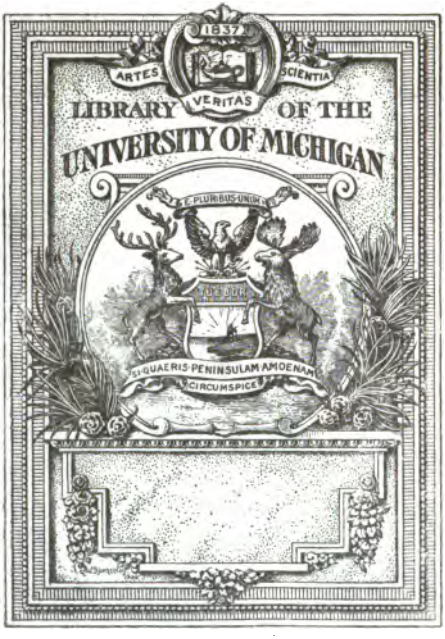
WHAT'S SO AND WHAT ISN'T

JOHN M. WORK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WHAT'S SO AND WHAT ISN'T

BY
JOHN M. WORK

TENTH EDITION

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WHAT'S SO AND WHAT ISN'T

A WINNING MOVEMENT

A friend of mine, while talking with an acquaintance one day, mentioned the fact that he was a Socialist; whereupon his acquaintance said: "A Socialist! Well, let's see; a Socialist is one o' them fellers that believes that when a feller dies his soul goes into a cow or a dog, or something, ain't it?"

Of course that misapprehension was due to lack of information on the subject of Socialism.

All other objections to Socialism spring from the same source, so far as the average man is concerned.

The capitalists and their satellites, however, know that these objections are lies. They repeat them with the deliberate and malicious desire to injure the cause of Socialism.

The capitalists and their satellites charge Socialism with being guilty of every crime of which capitalism itself is in fact guilty, and which Socialism will prevent.

But the average man is honest, or as nearly so as the capitalist system will permit him to be. He has heard or read these objections, and he believes them and repeats them simply because he is not informed on the subject.

Therefore, these objections must be met patiently.

We Socialists should remember that the average man is badly overworked by capitalism when he has a job, that he is constantly on the verge of nervous prostration, that he is not in the proper mood and condition to prosecute extensive studies, and that he is deprived of the time, means and opportunity to do so anyway.

We should also remember that there was a time when we railed against Socialism ourselves.

I plead guilty myself.

In 1896 I investigated Socialism for the purpose of preparing a lecture against it.

I wound up by preparing one in favor of it.

I confessed my mistake.

Don't be backward about confessing yours.

Remember, always remember, that a wise man sometimes changes his mind.

Socialism is the movement of the hour. It goes hand in hand with natural evolution. It has the marvelous advantage of being the truth. It is therefore a winning movement.

I have answered the more frequent objections that are raised against Socialism and questions that are asked about it. When these are cleared up in the mind of the investigator, all others will be dissolved by the rays of his enlightened understanding.

The word "capitalism," as used herein, means the present industrial system, wherein the mills, mines, factories, mercantile establishments, transportation lines, etc., are owned by private individuals and private corporations,

who hire men to do the work and pay them a fraction of the value of their labor.

In closing these preliminary observations, I am going to let you into a little secret. It is this: I am beautifully innocent of literary style. I would not recognize literary style if I met it in the street. I half believe that you wouldn't either. That is the reason I consider it necessary to acquaint you with my own deficiency in that line. Not having any comprehension of literary style, I have followed my own sweet will in writing this book. In presenting it to the public, with due acknowledgements to heredity and environment, I can only say with Shakespeare, "An ill-favored thing, sir, but mine own."

THE STALEST OF THE STALE

No, Socialism does not stand for dividing up.

Capitalism stands for dividing up.

I feel a good deal like apologizing for referring to the absurd dividing up objection. But if you consider it an insult to your intelligence, remember that there are still many people who actually believe that Socialism stands for dividing up.

Capitalism does stand for dividing up.

Capitalism compels the industrious to divide up with the idle.

Suppose you are the average wage worker. You work about nine hours a day.

In the first hour or two of your day's work you reproduce by your labor the amount you receive for the entire day.

In another hour or two you reproduce your proportion of the wear and tear, the running expenses, the raw material, and the wages of superintendence.

Well, then, having done this, it is time for you to take up your coat and hat and dinner pail and go home to your wife and babies.

Do you do it?

No, you don't.

What do you do?

You go ahead and work the rest of the day and add still more to the world's wealth by your labor.

Who earned that surplus?

You earned it.

Who gets it?

The capitalist gets it.

You divide up with him.

The Socialist party says that you, who earned it, shall get it.

The reason you do not get it now is because a few private individuals and corporations are permitted to own the means of production and distribution and to compel you to hand over to them the bulk of the product of your toil in exchange for an opportunity to earn a bare living.

By voting a capitalist ticket, the republican or democratic ticket, you have extended to the capitalists the privilege of exploiting you out of the lion's share of your earnings.

The Socialist party says that that portion

of the means of production and distribution which when privately owned can be used by the private owners to gouge other people, shall be publicly owned and popularly managed, that exploitation shall thereby be banished from the earth, and that the workers shall thereby secure the full product of their toil.

So much for the wage earner.

Now suppose you are the average farmer.

A capitalist, individual or corporate, either owns the farm you live on or holds a mortgage against it.

Out of your product you pay him rent or interest.

You divide up with him.

But that is not all.

No matter whether you are a farmer with a farm free of encumbrance, a farmer with a mortgaged farm, or a farmer on a rented farm, you are compelled to hand over a slice of your product, in the form of profit, to each of the retail stores with which you trade.

You divide up with them.

You are also compelled to hand over a slice of your product to the elevator company.

Another to the railroad company.

Another to the commission merchant.

Another to the board of trade speculators.

Another to the beef trust.

Another to the agricultural implement trust.

Another to the binding twine trust.

Another to the barbed wire trust.

Another to the steel trust.

Another to the lumber trust.

Another to the rubber trust.

Another to the hide and leather trust.
Another to the copper trust.
Another to the brass trust.
Another to the can trust.
Another to the glass trust.
Another to the paper trust.
Another to the shoe trust.
Another to the coal trust.
Another to the oil trust.
Another to the flour trust.
Another to the woolen trust.
Another to the cotton trust.
Another to the sugar trust.

And others to various other exploiters and grafters.

You divide up with them.

You have to.

That is, you have to so long as capitalism exists.

But you can abolish capitalism by voting the Socialist ticket.

No, Socialism does not stand for dividing up.

Socialism is the public ownership and the popular management of the means of production and distribution which are now used to exploit the masses of the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.

Socialism will prevent dividing up.

It will enable the men who produce the wealth to get it and enjoy it.

ANARCHY

No, Socialism is not anarchy.

Capitalism is essentially anarchistic.

The capitalists themselves are anarchists in their actions. Industrially, they are anarchists in their opinions also. Politically, they may or may not be.

The capitalists are the most lawless citizens we have.

Who corrupted the senate with sugar trust stock?

The capitalists.

Who fixes the congressmen?

The capitalists.

Who bribed the post-office officials to let fraudulent contracts?

The capitalists.

Who purchased the Massachusetts legislature?

The capitalists.

Who purchased the Illinois legislature?

The capitalists.

Who purchased the Missouri legislature?

The capitalists.

Who purchased the Colorado legislature?

The capitalists.

Who bought the St. Louis aldermen?

The capitalists.

Who influenced the president to send troops to Chicago in violation of law?

The capitalists.

Who deported innocent working men from Colorado in violation of law?

The capitalists.

Who hires thugs to stir up riots during strikes?

The capitalists.

Who violates the railway safety appliance law?

The capitalists.

Who gives illegal rebates?

The capitalists.

Who fixes the assessor?

The capitalists.

Who commits perjury to escape taxes?

The capitalists.

Who murders ten thousand people per year on the railroads of the United States by shoddy equipment and overwork of employes?

The capitalists.

Who murders and maims one hundred thousand people per year in the factories of the United States by lack of safeguards and overwork of employes?

The capitalists.

Who murders millions of people with adulterated food and drugs?

The capitalists.

Who corrupts the legislators by presenting them with railroad passes?

The capitalists.

Who bribes the aldermen to grant franchises?

The capitalists.

Who puts up the money to buy votes for the republican and democratic parties?

The capitalists.

Who insists upon having the cities run wide open in order to stimulate business?

The capitalists.

Who violates the child labor law?
The capitalists.
Who are persistently and brazenly lawless?
The capitalists.
What is the essence of anarchy?
Lawlessness.

The capitalists are therefore anarchists in their actions.

Industrially, they are anarchists in their opinions also. That is to say, they believe in the present planless system, capitalism. They believe in letting everybody run amuck industrially. They believe in letting every man corner all of the means of production and distribution he can, and keep all he can. They believe in shipping goods crisscross and helter-skelter over the country without any plan or system. They believe in the millionaire and the tramp. They believe in condemning the majority of the people to waste their time in useless work, because of the necessary duplication of tasks occasioned by the planlessness of the system.

The capitalist system is planless, chaotic and anarchistic.

To call it a system is really a contradiction of terms. It is not a system. It is a lack of system.

The capitalists believe in this lack of system.

Industrially, they are therefore anarchists.

Every person who does not believe in Socialism is an industrial anarchist. He believes in the present anarchistic lack of system.

Capitalism also drives men to political anarchy.

Capitalism is the fruitful mother of exploitation, military oppression, injunctions, lockouts, poverty, child labor, starvation, prostitution, suicide, insanity, crime, graft, wretchedness, and a long retinue of other horrors.

It is the knowledge and contemplation of this horrible fact that causes men to become political anarchists with their futile and short-sighted policy of killing rulers and leaders.

Capitalism is the cause of the existence of anarchists.

Remove capitalism, and presto! the anarchists are gone.

No, Socialism is not anarchy.

One reason why it has been confused with anarchy is because the word Socialism used to be generic instead of specific. It used to mean about what the word radicalism does now. At that time it was therefore just as appropriate to call an anarchist a Socialist as it is now to call an anarchist a radical. But the word Socialism long since lost that meaning and took on its present meaning, which is the opposite of anarchy.

But the chief reason why Socialism has been confused with anarchy is because the capitalists and their satellites persistently lie about it. They persistently yoke the two words together in a desperate attempt to hold on to their ill-gotten gains by prejudicing the minds of the people against the great crusade for social justice which is about to sweep their rickety system into oblivion.

Socialism is the public ownership and the popular management of the means of produc-

tion and distribution which are now used to exploit the masses of the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.

Anarchy means the total abolition of all laws, leaving the individual free to do as he pleases, both politically and industrially, unrestrained by law.

Socialism is therefore the opposite of anarchy.

Moreover, Socialism proposes to abolish the anarchy now existing. It proposes to bring order out of the present industrial chaos.

But, is it not true that Socialism will bring about an environment which will cause men to become better and better morally until eventually there will not be any need of criminal laws?

Yes.

But that will not be anarchy.

Not even philosophical anarchy.

It will be an advanced stage of Socialism.

It will be Socialism developed in its ideal beauty.

After the laws against crime have fallen into disuse for lack of criminals, the laws regulating industry will still exist and will be entirely necessary.

If, in the evolution of the human race, Socialism were a stepping stone to a more remote social system, that would not be the slightest argument against Socialism.

But I do not share the view that Socialism is only a stage in economic evolution, and that there are other stages in that evolution to be reached later.

I realize fully how careful one ought to be

about declaring anything to be final.

Nevertheless, there are some things which are final.

For example, it is agreed by anthropologists that the human body has reached its final form. Of course it can be indefinitely improved, but, in all probability, the form will not be changed. On the contrary, the likelihood is that man's physical form will now remain stationary, that he has reached his goal so far as the form of his body is concerned, and that his further revolutions will be mental, moral and spiritual, instead of physical. By reaching his final physical form, his energies are released for mental, moral and spiritual changes.

So with the economic evolution.

Socialism will be its final form, and human energies, released from the economic struggle, will struggle along higher lines.

Take another illustration. Suppose you have painted a square figure on a piece of canvas, and you want to gradually change it to a round figure. First, you change it to a pentagon, a figure with five sides. Then, you change it to a hexagon. Then, to a heptagon. Then, to an octagon. Then, to a circle.

Then you have to quit.

Why?

Because there isn't anything rounder than a circle.

You can touch it up here and there. You can make the dark places bright, etc. But, you can't change its form any more, because there isn't anything rounder than a circle.

So with the social system.

We began civilization with a system of chattel slavery, in which the many were exploited by the few who owned the earth. Then, we went through the stage of serfdom, the feudal system, in which, again, the many were exploited by the few who owned the earth. Then, we emerged into the system out of which we are now about to pass, the capitalist or wage system, in which, again, the many are exploited by the few who own the earth, or, more specifically, the industries.

Now, Socialism will be a system in which the whole people will own the industries.

Consequently, there is no other form beyond that. When you have taken in the whole people, you have reached the final economic form. It is just as impossible to conceive of any form more complete than that as it is to conceive of anything rounder than a circle.

Of course, Socialism can be improved. You can touch it up, as you did the circle. If it has any dark spots, you can make them bright. But, that is only a matter of improving, not of changing the form.

In course of time, you will be able to repeal all criminal laws, because men will have become so nearly perfect that they will no longer need them, and then you will have no laws left but those regulating industry. That is what those who dream of a form more remote than Socialism are really thinking of. But, that is not a different form at all. It is merely Socialism carried to its logical conclusion, perfected in its ideal beauty.

When Socialism is achieved, men will begin

to give less and less attention to economic matters, for the very good reason that they will have reached the final economic form.

They will turn their attention more and more to those higher realms of thought, which will be open to them because they have reached the final economic form, the form in which all the people own the industries and participate in the advantages accruing from them, and therefore have the time, the means, the opportunity, and the disposition, to devote themselves to the higher realms of thought.

The fact that Socialism is the final economic form will cause it to release human energy from bondage to economic questions, and confer upon the human race an unbounded freedom to soar into the higher healms.

This is the great glory of Socialism.

COMMUNISM

No, Socialism is not communism.

Capitalism forces a disagreeable and very harmful species of communism upon large numbers of the people.

Hundreds of thousands of families are huddled together in tenements in the cities. In New York over a hundred thousand people live in tenements of from five to seven stories in height. In certain portions the population is seventeen or eighteen thousand to the acre. Pure air is unknown. What air they do get is largely obtained through air shafts running

from the roof downward. These air shafts are frequently so arranged that they serve also as light shafts. They make it easy for families to see into each other's living rooms, destroying the possibility of privacy even in sleeping and dressing. Few families have more than two rooms. Frequently a large family is crowded into one room. Indeed, there is frequently more than one family in one room. Under these circumstances morality becomes practically an impossibility.

Other cities, in proportion to population, are also well supplied with these disgusting, disease-breeding, crime-breeding bee hives of enforced communism.

These tenements are fatal to any intellectual, moral and spiritual expansion on the part of the men and women who are compelled to dwell in them.

As for the children, they are doomed. They have no playground but the street. Overcrowding, bad air and excessive heat create a frightful mortality among them. These conditions kill them off like sheep in a slaughter house. Those who are so unfortunate as to escape death are foredoomed by their environment to become criminals, tramps, imbeciles or lunatics.

This is capitalist communism.

But millions of people who live in detached houses are but little better off. Their houses are built so close together that they also are forced into a distressing and harmful species of communism.

Capitalism congests the industries in large

cities, to gain the advantage of railroad connections, shipping facilities, etc.

The wage slaves have to follow them in order to get an opportunity to earn a living.

Overcrowding is the natural result.

The houses in which the workers live are built on lots which are from twenty to fifty feet wide.

This deprives them of a large portion of their privacy.

The children, as usual, are the most pitiable victims.

It is next to impossible to prevent their being overwhelmed with undesirable companions, who ruin their morals, their dispositions and their manners.

Some of the children of the neighborhood are all right. But others are vulgar. Others are lascivious. Others are gossipy. Others are envious. Others are stingy. Others are ill-tempered. Others are shallow. Others are giddy. Others are profane. Others are tuberculous. Others are incompatible.

A child ought to play with selected, invited companions, not with a neighborhood mob.

A child ought likewise to have sufficient privacy to learn to amuse himself and instruct himself, to secure the immense moral and spiritual gains that are to be had from solitude.

But these rights are next to impossible of achievement under capitalist communism.

For most families it is financially impossible even to have a board fence around the tiny lawn.

The parents who secure these rights for

their children have to persistently fight for them.

A few parents make a desperate fight against having their children sacrificed.

But most of them have given it up in despair.

This is capitalist communism.

Socialism will put an end to it.

In the Socialist commonwealth there will be be no incentive to congest the industries in one place. The health, comfort and welfare of the people will be of first importance. The industries can be scattered out. The people will no longer have to huddle together.

Moreover, when the people get all they earn, families can afford to have a few acres of lawn and trees around the houses, gaining for themselves a wholesome privacy and an opportunity to feel the throb of nature's heart.

No, Socialism is not communism.

One reason why it has been confused with communism is because the history of language is again partly to blame. Half a century ago that which is now called Socialism was called communism. That is the reason Marx and Engels called their manifesto "The Communist Manifesto." If they had written it in recent years they would have called it "The Socialist Manifesto." That which was then called communism changed its name to Socialism, and the word communism took on an entirely different meaning. Such changes of meaning are frequent as well as confusing. For example, to borrow an illustration, Thomas Jefferson was a member of the republican party. But the republican party afterward changed its name

to democratic party and it had no connection whatever with the republican party which was born just before the civil war. In a similar manner, that which was once called communism changed its name to Socialism, while the word communism came to mean something altogether different.

But the chief reason why Socialism has been confused with communism is because the capitalists and their satellites persistently lie about it. They persistently charge that Socialism is communism. They actually point to communistic colonies and represent them to be samples of Socialism in actual operation.

But they are samples of communism, not of Socialism.

There are no real, bona fide samples of Socialism in operation at the present time, simply because no nation has yet been socialized, although a good many of them are about to be. The nearest approach we have to a sample of Socialism in actual operation at the present time is to be found in the postoffice, the public schools and the publicly-owned water works, gas works, fire departments, etc. At the present time these publicly-owned institutions are administered in the interest of the capitalist class, which holds the political power. They are also stripped of safeguards from corruption. But, for all that, they are very successful from the standpoint of efficiency, and they are the nearest approach to samples of Socialism in actual operation that we have.

Communism means the gathering of people together in colonies, owning in common not

only the means of production and distribution, but also private, personal, household effects. It means living in common. It means a common dining hall, where everybody is expected to eat, whether or no. It means forced and unpleasant familiarity. It means the practical abolition of privacy. It means the substantial effacement of the individual. This makes it very disagreeable and distasteful, especially to a Socialist; for all Socialists have strong individuality.

Socialism is the public ownership and the popular management, not of private, personal effects, but of those industries, those means of production and distribution, which are now used to exploit the masses of the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.

Socialism does not mean that the people are to live in common any more than your mail carriers, or your school teachers, or your county officers—who work for the public—do now.

Socialism does not mean that you will have to surrender your privacy. On the contrary, it means that you will have an opportunity to regain the privacy which you have already surrendered, as I have pointed out above.

Socialism stands for the private ownership of everything that ought to be used in private. It stands for private property in everything except those things which can be used to exploit others. It proposes to let you board at a hotel or a restaurant, or have your meals delivered at the house, or cook for yourself, just as you please. It proposes to let you do what-

ever you please with your income, except to exploit others with it. You can spend your money as you please, or save it if you want to, and leave your baubles to whomsoever you please when you die.

Socialism proposes to promote fraternalism and good fellowship, not by a forced and vulgar familiarity, but by removing the system which makes men necessarily enemies of each other.

We fully appreciate the necessity of society to the development of the individual.

We also fully appreciate the necessity of solitude to his development.

We will give him abundant opportunity for both society and solitude.

RELIGION

No, Socialism is not antagonistic to religion.

Capitalism is antagonistic to religion.

Capitalism compels the masses of the people to scramble for a bare existence. It compels most of them to break the Golden Rule every day. It deprives them of the time to develop their spiritual natures. It deprives them of the frame of mind necessary to the development of their spiritual natures.

That is amply sufficient to demonstrate that capitalism is antagonistic to religion.

Of course religion and the church are two separate and distinct things.

As for the church, with minor exceptions,

the capitalists dominate it and use it for their own purposes. They hold the purse strings of the church. The purse strings connect with the preacher's tongue.

When the preacher's tongue gets unruly the capitalist gives the purse string a yank.

The effect is electrical.

The preacher becomes the most docile of men. He promises to be good. He promises that he won't do it again.

But the preacher does not usually come to the pass of getting unruly. He knows that it will not do. He knows that if he tells the truth about the capitalists and the capitalist system from his pulpit he will be likely to lose his job. So he shuts his eyes to the horrors of capitalism. He praises the iniquitous system. He grovels before wealth. He abhors workingmen who strike against starvation wages. He loses no opportunity to prejudice his hearers in favor of capitalist slavery.

He has to do this or run an imminent risk of losing his job.

He is not a leader. He is a mirror. He reflects the views of his wealthy parishioners. If he fails to reflect accurately, they smash the mirror.

He is in a precarious and pitiable position. He does not know how to do anything but preach. If he were to tell the truth and lose his job he knows of no other occupation in the world to which he could turn with a fair prospect of being able to make a living. He would not only face disgrace, in the eyes of his capitalist friends, but he would face actual

starvation. He has a wife and children. He loves them. He does not want them to suffer. By being a hypocrite he can provide them with material and educational advantages. It is a trying position.

Of course, the right thing for him to do is to throw hypocrisy to the winds, face the situation with indomitable courage and resolve that he will do and say what he believes to be right, utterly regardless of the effect which it may have on himself. He ought to be brave enough to prefer to die in the gutter rather than be a hypocrite.

Some of them have faced the situation and many of these have lost their jobs.

But these are only the rare spirits.

Such sublime courage is scarcely to be expected of the common herd of preachers. The average preacher trims his sails to the breeze. He guards his utterances so as to say nothing that will offend the men who pay the bills. He makes an unconditional surrender to the capitalist class.

This is superabundant demonstration that capitalism is antagonistic to religion. It throttles religion and uses religious institutions for its own purposes. It uses the pulpit to attempt to perpetuate itself.

No, Socialism is not antagonistic to religion.

Directly, Socialism has nothing to do with religion.

Indirectly, Socialism will have a benignly beneficial effect upon religion.

The republican party is made up of Christians, infidels, agnostics, atheists, Christian

Scientists, Theosophists, Spiritualists and every other phase of religious thought.

The same is true of the democratic party.

And the same is true of the Socialist party.

Ours is a political and economic, not a religious movement.

Directly we have nothing to do with religion. It would be just as absurd for us to take a stand on religious questions as it would be for the republican or democratic party to do so.

To be sure, when a priest or a preacher attacks us we are not slow to expose him.

We show how he is gagged with half-fare railroad tickets.

We show how he has prostrated himself before the capitalist class.

We pare away his conventional excrescences and lay bare his rotten heart to the public gaze.

But that is not an attack upon religion.

It is only self defense against the savage thrust of a mercenary hypocrite.

Directly, Socialism has nothing to do with religion.

It is true, however, that incidentally Socialism will emancipate religion. It will give the masses of the people the time and the means and the opportunity to develop themselves, physically, mentally, morally and spiritually. It will make it unnecessary for them to violate the Golden Rule. It will make it easy for them to do right and hard for them to do wrong. It will give them a mental attitude favorable to the development of their spiritual natures.

Capitalism and its predecessors have prevented the development of spirituality. The en-

vironment has been unfavorable to its development. Socialism will provide an environment that will be favorable to its development.

Men are in their spiritual infancy at the present time. They have scarcely begun to develop. When Socialism provides a favorable environment it is not improbable that spiritual development may attain its manhood and come upon the stage as the star in the tragi-comedy of human life.

Capitalism is a drama in which the villain, mammon, is the star.

Socialism will also incidentally emancipate the church from slavery to capitalism. A clique of men will no longer monopolize the means of life. Furthermore, Socialism will guarantee every citizen an opportunity to earn a living. The preacher will be able at any time to step out of the church into another remunerative occupation if he so desires. The fact that he is in a position to do this will make him independent. He will not take dictation from anybody. He will preach the truth as he sees it. He will rise from his present prostrate position and stand erect.

It is true that Socialism will also incidentally weed out false religious doctrines. It will do this merely because it will provide universal education and enlightenment. A universally enlightened people will be able to discern which doctrines are true and which are false.

But that is something which every sincere religionist will welcome.

Every honest man wants the truth to prevail.

A man who is afraid that the universal en-

lightenment brought about by Socialism will injure his religion is simply aware that his religion will not bear investigation. In other words, he knows that his religion is false. He is a hypocrite.

Socialism will provide fruitful soil for any religion that will bear investigation.

It will be fatal to any religion that will not bear investigation.

Naturally every sincere religionist feels entirely positive that his religion will bear investigation.

Therefore, no sincere believer in any religion can for a single moment consider Socialism dangerous to his religion.

Religion is a private matter.

Socialism stands for complete religious liberty.

PATERNALISM

No, Socialism is not paternalism.

Capitalism is paternalism.

We have had paternalism for many centuries and we have it now.

Paternalism is the rule of the few. It is a man or a clique of men governing the people.

Under absolute monarchy, one man did the governing. After the lords compelled the king to divide up his authority with them, the king and the nobility did the governing. When the common people secured the right to vote, it was thought that this would put an end to paternalism.

It did put an end to political paternalism.

We now get what the majority votes for.

But we still have industrial paternalism, a paternalism of the most cruel and unjust character.

A few men own the industries of the country.

They have the masses under their control.

They can starve them to death, or freeze them to death, or work them to death.

They can and do dictate for the most part when they shall work, where they shall work, and what incomes they shall receive.

That is paternalism gone to seed.

So long as it continues, emancipation from political paternalism is useless except as a means of accomplishing emancipation from this industrial paternalism.

By voting the Socialist ticket industrial paternalism can be abolished.

No, Socialism is not paternalism.

Socialism will complete and perfect political emancipation by introducing equal political rights for men and women, by introducing the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, the recall, and home rule, by abolishing the veto power on the part of executives, by abolishing the usurped power on the part of the courts to nullify the will of the people by declaring laws unconstitutional, and by making the national and state constitutions amendable at any time by majority vote, so as to do away with what has been called "the tyranny of the dead."

Socialism will accomplish industrial emancipation by abolishing industrial paternalism and

introducing industrial fraternalism; in other words, by abolishing private monopoly and introducing the public ownership and the popular management of the industries now used to exploit the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.

In the Socialist commonwealth the people engaged in any industry will elect the managers, foremen, superintendents, etc., in that industry.

That is the rule of the many instead of the few.

When the few cease to rule and the many begin to rule, paternalism will breathe its last, and fraternalism will take its place.

When these changes are brought about by Socialism we will have both a political and an industrial government of, for and by the people. These changes will enable the people to govern themselves, both politically and industrially, for the first time since civilization began.

And when the people govern themselves, both politically and industrially, paternalism will cease and fraternalism will begin.

SLAVERY

No, Socialism is not slavery.

Capitalism is slavery.

In order to demonstrate that capitalism is slavery, all that is necessary is to repeat a portion of what I said in the chapter on Paternalism.

A few men own the industries of the country. They have the masses under their control. They can starve them to death, or freeze them to death, or work them to death. They can and do dictate for the most part when they shall work, where they shall work, and what incomes they shall receive.

That is slavery gone to seed.

Socialism will abolish that slavery.

Socialism is freedom.

Socialism will give every worker an equal voice in the management of industry. It will give him the greatest industrial liberty that it is possible for him to have under any imaginable industrial system. As men are very different in their makeup and their tastes, it will be able to give them the kind of work they prefer, in the locality they prefer. It will also afford mobility, so that a man can move about from place to place if that is his desire. It will give him the full value of his labor, which will be enough to afford him not only all material comforts, but also all the higher things of life. It will give him short hours of labor, so that he will have the time and the disposition to avail himself of the higher things of life.

In short, it will give him industrial freedom in place of the present industrial slavery.

In order to repeat myself as little as possible, I will refer the reader for further matter bearing upon this subject to the chapter on Individuality—Dead Level, and the chapter on Individual Initiative—I Want to Be My Own Boss.

INCENTIVE

No, Socialism will not destroy incentive to do one's best.

Capitalism destroys incentive to do one's best.

Socialism will destroy incentive to do one's worst. For example, it will destroy the incentive to kill off the people by food adulteration. It will destroy incentive to overreach one's fellow men, and to pinch and cramp and brutalize them by the myriad means now in use.

I am not going to give you a heart ache and a stomach ache by describing the things which you are compelled to eat day by day and which cause the death of thousands of people and the ill health of many thousands more, but I want to say that you can pass pure food laws until you are blind and you will still continue to eat adulterated food just as long as the food factories are in control of private parties who have every incentive to adulterate the food in order to make money out of it. It is to the interest of the manufacturers to bribe the inspectors. And, even if they did not bribe them, it is a sheer impossibility to have an inspector on hand at every stage of the process. When the adulteration is not made at the stage where the inspector is getting in his work, it can be made at some other stage. There are dozens of opportunities to adulterate, in spite of the most rigid inspection, before the product reaches the consumer.

The groceries you buy are adulterated.

The drugs you buy are adulterated.

The meat you buy is tainted.
The clothes you buy are shoddy.
The shoes you buy are a swindle.
The furniture you buy is poorly constructed.
The house you rent is cheaply built, cold and unhealthy. It was built to rent, not to live in.
Almost everything you buy is fraudulent.
You will use adulteration, taint and shoddy until capitalism is abolished and Socialism is introduced. And the hearse will continue to drive up and take away the bodies of the victims of food and drug adulteration, until that time.

When the public owns the packing houses, there will be no incentive to can tuberculous steers, nor to sell filth for food. There will be every incentive to make pure food and to keep the factories in a cleanly, healthful condition.

But I promised not to give you a stomach ache.

Let me take a prosaic illustration of the effects of the vicious incentives to which capitalism gives full swing. I have in mind a house which was spouted with the best tin on the market. In four years the tin was rotten and the job had to be done over again. An expert tinner testifies that there is no good tin made in the United States. You can't buy it at any price. Of course the manufacturers claim that all the tin they make is good. Nevertheless, good tin can not be bought at any price. They don't make it.

Why?

Because it pays better to make poor tin and charge the same price for it that they could

get for good tin. Capitalism provides them with a full fledged incentive to make the worst tin they can work off on the people.

The spouting on the houses built by our fathers and grand-fathers lasted all the way from twenty-five to a hundred years. I know of one house that was spouted in 1847, and to all appearances the spouting is still just as good as new. It will probably last another half century. But that tin was made in the old days before fierce competition drove men to degrade the quality.

It is the same with practically everything else on the market. I have only used tin as an illustration. Practically everything has been cheapened in quality. It is almost impossible to buy a good grade of anything.

A traveling man who sells maple syrup is authority for the statement that there is no pure maple syrup on the market. He says that most of the alleged maple syrup is altogether spurious. There is simply no maple syrup in it at all. And when the real stuff is sold, it is sold in an adulterated form. He says that he has many a time seen spurious maple syrup made in Minnesota where they have a pure food law. They make it out of the pith of corn cobs and—but I must keep my promise.

The only good pianos are those which were made a long time ago. They don't make any good ones now.

It is an impossibility to buy good butter. There isn't any on the market. This is something we all know by painful experience. But, there I go again.

Groceries, drugs, clothing, furniture, almost everything that the common people have to buy, are so degraded in quality that you can't get a good article for love or money.

All this is due to capitalism with its base incentives. It was not so before capitalism began to approach its acute stage, because it was not necessary at that time for the people to do such things in order to make a living. But when labor saving machinery began to throw millions of men out of employment, and all the trades and professions as a result became overcrowded with people jostling each other in a mad scramble for a bare existence, it became necessary for men to use every hook and crook in order to eke out a subsistence. They began to adulterate, to deteriorate, to degrade, everything they made or sold. They did it because there was money in it. They are continuing to do it because there is money in it. And they will continue to do it as long as there is money in it. Even in the cases where industries have passed into the hands of trusts—and most of the industries are now trustified—the adulteration and shoddy continue. It might be thought that they would cease such practices because they are wealthy and therefore not forced to it by absolute necessity. But, now that the trick has been learned, and their consciences hardened, they keep it up, and they will continue to keep it up as long as they own the industries.

Socialism will remove every incentive to make adulterated and shoddy goods. It will not be to anybody's financial interest to com-

mit these outrages. They will therefore cease.

How silly to expect them to cease so long as the industries are owned by private parties who can fill their pockets with money that way!

How utterly foolish to expect to remove this evil by appealing to men's honesty! Or by setting other men to watch them!

Take away the power, the necessity, and the incentive, and the evil will disappear.

Capitalism provides abundant incentive to graft, to shirk, to drink, to gamble, to debauch, to commit crime, to violate the Golden Rule, and to perpetrate all the villainous frauds and deceptions which surround us on every hand.

Socialism will destroy the bad incentives.

It will keep the good incentives and increase them.

Under capitalism the best incentives are impossible of universal application, although some of them do crowd to the surface in spite of the discouraging environment.

Since the concentration of capital has progressed to an acute stage, so that it requires enormous capital to conduct a successful business, the average man is condemned by inexorable conditions to work for a small income so long as the present system lasts.

What is his incentive?

Is it the prospect of a liberal income beckoning to him from in front?

No, for he has no such prospect under this system.

On the contrary, his incentive is the fear of starvation prodding him in the rear.

Truly, a despicable incentive.

No great thought or act ever proceeded from incentive so base.

The incentive of the wealthy few is even more base, the incentive to accumulate immense fortunes.

When that low and mean incentive once possesses a man's mind, he is lost to higher impulses so long as it controls him.

In the Socialist commonwealth, the average man will receive several times as large an income as he now receives.

So far as the hope of financial reward can operate as an incentive, he will therefore have several times as great an incentive to work well and faithfully as he has now.

He will be released from the fear of starvation. He will have the incentive to work well and faithfully because by so doing he can secure all the necessaries, comforts and higher privileges of life.

At the same time he will not to any great degree be degraded by the base incentive to accumulate money, for no man can accumulate much money when he receives nothing but what he is entitled to. Money is accumulated by investment, manipulation, speculation, and all sorts of varieties of grafts, and these will be impossible in the Socialist commonwealth.

The field will therefore be cleared for higher incentives.

Under feudalism, the prevailing incentive among the many was to escape starvation, and the prevailing incentive among the few was to excel in war. The making of money was

considered beneath the dignity of a gentleman.

Under capitalism, the prevailing incentive among the many is to escape starvation, and the prevailing incentive among the few is to excel in making money. The incentive to make money is at least better than the incentive to carve the most people with a sword.

Socialism will be another and infinitely greater advance in the matter of incentives.

The desire to excel will continue to be a powerful incentive.

But it will be the desire to excel in something better than killing people or accumulating wealth.

It will be the desire to excel in doing something useful.

Under capitalism, the man who excels can only do so by trampling his fellow men under his feet.

In the Socialist commonwealth, the man who excels can only do so by benefiting his fellow men with his superior knowledge or skill.

Socialism will also open wide the door of incentive in invention, in the sciences, and in the fine arts.

Today the inventor scarcely ever receives any substantial reward for the work of his genius. Capital is necessary to develop an invention. So he sells it to a capitalist for a song. The capitalist receives the reward of the inventor's genius.

In the Socialist commonwealth the inventor will not have to struggle with incessant poverty, but will be able to give free rein to his genius.

Socialism may therefore expect an era of marvelous inventions, such as will make the miraculous inventions of the last hundred years appear trifling in comparison.

Those who are attracted toward scientific pursuits will have ample time and opportunity to do their best along those lines.

Today the devotee of the fine arts has to please the rich in order to keep out of the poorhouse. The masses of the people are so steeped in poverty and hard work that their taste for art is as undeveloped as their material ability to gratify such taste if they had it. The few people who have artistic taste lack the means to gratify it.

The rich are almost uniformly vulgar.

They love ostentatious display.

They love a work of art for the money it cost, not for its artistic beauty.

It is to their lack of taste that the artist must truckle. No wonder artistic genius is rare. The moment when a mercenary motive creeps into an artist's brain, genius spreads her wings and flies away.

No beautiful thing, no great thing, was ever done primarily for money.

Socialism will give the masses an abundant opportunity to develop artistic taste, and artistic genius, too, for that matter. The artist will then have a constituency worthy of the highest genius. He will no longer be dependent upon the vulgar rich.

On the whole, however, the tendency of Socialism will be to make man's highest incentive the desire to do good in the world.

The fact is, that while the prevailing incentives at the present time are the incentive to escape starvation and the incentive to excel in making money, these are by no means the only incentives now existing.

Says John Ruskin: "It is physically impossible for a well-educated, intelligent, or brave man to make money the chief object of his thoughts; as physically impossible as it is for him to make his dinner the principal object of them."

What is the incentive of the young man who works like a Trojan on the football or baseball field, without any pecuniary compensation for it?

It is partly love of the sport and partly desire to excel in the game.

What is the incentive of the man who abandons a paying business to run for an office, when he could make far more money by attending to business?

It is honor, fame, public approbation.

The fact is that behind the incentive to make money there is frequently the incentive of love of approbation. The money is wanted in order to gratify the love of approbation. The money is wanted in order to secure approbation. If approbation can be secured in other ways the money will not be wanted.

Socialism will put men on their merits and give them all a fair chance to secure approbation in better ways than making money or spending money.

What is the incentive of the man who works all his life to support his wife and children?

Do they pay him money for doing it?

No, his incentive is love.

Among thousands of men and women the love of family has expanded into love of the whole human race. They do not love their families any less than before. In fact, they love them more. But they also love their fellow men more. Their highest incentive is to be of service to humanity. Socialism will provide conditions wherein that incentive will become the highest incentive of a constantly increasing number of people, until, in course of time, it will take in the entire human race.

Socialism will enable every boy and girl to grow up in a normal condition.

That means that people will enjoy superb health and buoyant spirits.

They will no longer be flabby imitations of men, like the flimsy, careworn, overworked hollow-chested specimens of humanity we see on the streets today.

They will no longer be born tired.

They will have an overmastering desire to exercise themselves.

They will take pleasure in expending their superabundant vitality.

It has been well said that they will enjoy working and achieving as much as the spirited colt enjoys prancing around the pasture.

Socialism will therefore extend to all the people an incentive which now operates only on a few—the joy of effort, the esctasy of achieveing.

To a large extent this incentive will become operative as soon as Socialism is introduced.

But it will become more and more operative as the favorable conditions make the people more and more healthy of body, vigorous of mind and wholesome of morals.

Meantime, Socialism will provide a varied multitude of lesser incentives, including the incentive to secure several times as large an income as the average man is getting now.

DRUNKENNESS

No, Socialism will not increase drunkenness.

Capitalism increases drunkenness.

Socialism will abolish drunkenness.

It will be for the majority of the people to say whether any liquor shall be manufactured and sold or not.

If it is manufactured and sold, it will be manufactured and sold by the public, not by private parties.

Why are the liquor dealers such a power in politics today?

Why do they push their business with such strenuousness, regardless of the wreck it may bring to some unfortunate individuals?

The answer is easy—there is profit to be made by selling liquor.

Socialism will remove that profit.

Like everything else, liquor, if sold at all, will be sold at cost. The man who handles it will have no personal interest in trying to get people to buy. Neither will it be to his interest to sell in violation of the regulations.

The public sells the liquor now in South Carolina and in many parts of Alabama. It has not been a fair test, of course. They sell at a profit. It is a sample of public capitalism, not of Socialism. But, in spite of that, and in spite of the fact that the prime causes of intemperance still remain, drunkenness has been reduced and the evils of the privately owned saloon largely eliminated. No drinking is allowed on the premises where the liquor is sold. This abolishes treating at one stroke, and treating is one of the worst features of the liquor evil.

But Socialism will do more than that.

Socialism will cut the root of the liquor evil.

Socialism will provide conditions wherein men will not be driven to drink, as they are now.

There is no inherent moral quality in liquor.

It is not the use of liquor, but the abuse of it, that is harmful. It is the intemperate use of liquor that is harmful. Capitalism is the cause of the intemperate use of liquor.

Poverty, with its disheartening lack of hope and its dreary outlook for the future, is driving hundreds of thousands of men into intemperance.

Business, with its fierce competition, its unremitting toil, its ceaseless grind, its racking worry and its mentally and morally stunting superficiality, is driving hundreds of thousands more to drink.

Frances E. Willard, after a lifetime spent in the temperance movement, said at the convention of the World's W. C. T. U. at London, in 1895: "Twenty-one years of study and ob-

servation have convinced me that poverty is a prime cause of intemperance." Speaking of Socialism she said: "Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life!"

Overwork in the excessive heat of a foundry causes the worker to crave liquor.

Overwork in a monotonous occupation causes the worker to crave liquor.

Overwork in an ill-ventilated place causes the worker to crave liquor.

Overwork even in a good environment causes the worker to crave liquor.

Nine-tenths of the people fall under one or the other of the above heads.

Nine-tenths of the people are driven to crave some sort of stimulant because they are physically incapable of meeting the constant, exhausting drain upon their vitality without stimulant.

Socialism will remove poverty and all its hideous train of limitations.

Socialism will remove the long hours.

Socialism will remove the unhealthy surroundings.

Socialism will remove the fierce struggle for a bare animal existence.

Socialism will remove the lack of hope.

Socialism will remove the racking worry.

Socialism will remove the mental and moral starvation.

Socialism will remove the physical discomfort.

Socialism will remove the overwork.

Socialism will remove all the causes which predispose men to the abuse of liquor.

The causes of intemperance being thus removed, intemperance may therefore be expected to disappear.

The prohibitionists are whacking away at the outside of a cancer. They attack the effects only. Their efforts are therefore entirely futile.

Socialism will remove the cause. Socialism will purify the blood. The cancer will therefore vanish.

INDIVIDUALITY—DEAD LEVEL

No, Socialism will not destroy individuality and reduce the people to a dead level.

Capitalism has destroyed individuality and reduced the people to a dead level.

Capitalism has reduced the masses of the people to the dead level of poverty.

It has reduced them to the dead level of long hours of labor.

It has reduced them to the dead level of inability to avail themselves of the higher things of life.

Socialism will release them from that dead level.

Socialism will give the whole human race abundant access to the higher things of life.

All Socialists are intense individualists, as you will discover if you mingle with them.

I am an individualist.

I want an opportunity to develop my individuality.

I know that Socialism will give me the time and the means and the opportunity to develop my individuality.

And I also know that Socialism will give to every other man, woman and child the time and the means and the opportunity to develop his or her individuality.

Capitalism stifles individuality.

Socialism will develop it.

Capitalism reduces men to the dead level of equal ignorance, flatness, dullness and uninterestingness.

Socialism will develop varied and scintillating individuality and originality that will make it a keen pleasure to mingle with men.

Socialism means a fair deal for everybody.

Socialism means that all men shall have an equal opportunity to develop themselves. Each will naturally develop himself in acordance with his special bent. And all will acquire wide culture and enlightenment. But their special development will make them far more varied and unlike than they are now. They are very much at the same stage of lack of development now. They are on a dead level of lack of development.

Capitalism, by forcing men to spend their entire lives in earning a bare subsistence, prevents the development of their individuality.

Their individuality is slumbering.

Socialism will awaken it.

There was a time when a certain measure of individuality was a common possession in America, when men had practically equal chances in the world, and when the highest

success then attainable was open to all.

When wealth was somewhat evenly distributed, when the tools of production were simple, and the domain of idle land was ample, all men had approximately equal chances to achieve success in any line of endeavor.

But since that time all has changed.

The wealth of the nation has concentrated into the hands of a few.

We have developed into a nation of masters and slaves.

The masses of the people live a hand-to-mouth existence.

They no longer have even financial individual initiative.

And on account of their poverty and their long hours of labor, they are prevented from developing individuality along higher lines as well. Their financial condition is such that it is impossible for them to reach out into the higher realms of investigation, of culture, and of thought, where the highest individuality and originality may be cultivated and displayed.

Socialism will give everybody the financial power to command the highest opportunities for self-improvement. Socialism will take the children out of the factories, stores and mines, and put them in school, where they can lay a foundation on which to build individuality and originality.

Socialism will also cut down the hours required to provide the necessaries and comforts of life to such an extent that even the adult citizen will have more than half his time to avail himself of the higher things of life.

Every man has some incipient individuality and originality.

Socialism will remove the barriers and let it grow.

Socialism will throw wide open the doors of ambition and high achievement.

Socialism will make every man stand on his merits instead of his money.

It will be a glorious thing to live in the Socialist commonwealth.

Socialism will give men greater individuality than has ever yet existed in this world.

The old, stark anarchistic, hostile, tyrannical individuality which capitalism promotes is simply enmity toward one's fellow men.

Socialism will develop the true individuality.

The true individuality is the wide culture and special development of the individual, not in opposition to, but in harmony with, the equal rights of others.

This individuality is as much higher in quality than the old capitalistic individuality as the zenith is higher than the equator.

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

No, Socialism will not prevent the survival of the fittest.

Capitalism prevents the survival of the best.

Socialism will abolish the survival of the slickest.

Socialism will provide conditions wherein the best will have a chance to survive. The

best are now killed off, or submerged.

There never has been a time since the dawn of civilization when the best men have survived. That is, when the best men have been accorded their proper place among their fellow men.

The best men are the men of moral integrity, of intellectual vigor, the broad-minded and big-hearted men, the men who do something useful, the men who love their fellow men, the men who try to do good in the world, the men who are of the best use to humanity.

These are the best men.

But the conditions since civilization began have not been such that they could survive.

The fittest do survive.

That is, the men who are fittest for the environment. The men who are the nearest adapted to existing conditions.

Throw wheat in a weed patch and the weeds will survive, although the wheat is the best.

The weeds are the fittest for those conditions.

Pit a man naked-handed against a hyena, and the hyena will survive, although the man is the best.

The hyena is the fittest for those conditions.

In the middle ages the man who was the most expert with the sword and the lance was the one who survived, although no one will contend that he was the best.

He was the fittest for the conditions of a social system in which might ruled and physical prowess was the deciding factor.

At the present time, the narrow-minded men,

the men who have turned their hearts to stone who have blocked up the avenues of pity and sympathy, who never have an unselfish thought, who never do anything useful, who deny themselves all the expanding culture and ennobling associations of life, who spend every minute of their waking hours in a selfish, brutal, fiendish, savage, cruel, merciless, ghoulish conflict for financial supremacy, are the men who survive, although no intelligent man will contend for a moment that they are the best men.

They are the fittest for the conditions of a social system in which the possession of money and property is considered success, and in which it is necessary for one to lay aside his higher qualities and make use of the inferior qualities of cunning and craftiness in order to achieve that so-called success.

In the Socialist commonwealth the men who are the most useful to the human race, in the trades, in the professions, in the management of affairs, in the arts, in the sciences, in literature, in everything that is good, will survive.

They will survive because they will be the fittest for the conditions of a social system in which it will be necessary to use the best and noblest qualities of human nature in order to succeed.

They will be the fittest and also the best.

For the first time since the dawn of civilization the best will survive.

Today the men who survive are not only not the best men, but they can survive only by bringing wreck and ruin upon their fellow men.

destroying their hopes and blighting their lives.

In the Socialist commonwealth the men who survive can only survive by making the lot of their fellows happier and better.

They can only elevate themselves by elevating all humanity.

Years ago a reckless young adventurer went to California. He found a rich gold mine. Although the gold did not belong to him, the law allowed him to take it because he happened to find it. He became worth more than a hundred million dollars. He invested this money in such a manner that it constantly brought into his purse still other money that did not belong to him, and which was sorely needed by those to whom it did belong. The newspapers called him successful and said he was a great commercial genius. When he died he was lauded to the skies. You would have thought he was a great man, instead of a mere lucky adventurer. His name was John W. Mackey.

Once upon a time a boy was born who seemed to possess a perfect passion for music. When a mere child he exhibited musical talent which astonished his friends and put older musicians to shame. He was afflicted with extreme poverty. He struggled manfully and devoted his whole soul to his passion. The result was a series of musical productions which have ever since held the musical world entranced. He struggled on in poverty. His whole life was embittered and filled with suffering by his poverty. At the age of thirty-five he died—of

starvation. His body buried in a pauper's grave. His name was Mozart.

Mozart was one of the best men.

But John W. Mackey was one of the fittest for the existing conditions.

Therefore, Mackey survived.

In the Socialist commonwealth the best will also be the fittest.

WOMAN, HOME AND FAMILY

No, Socialism is not against the home.

Capitalism is against the home.

Socialism does not attack the family.

Capitalism attacks the family.

Socialism does not stand for free love.

Capitalism stands for free love.

Those who charge that the Socialists believe in free love simply lie. The Socialists are eternally advocating the things they believe in. If they believed in free love they would be eternally advocating it. The fact that they say they do not believe in it is proof positive that they are opposed to it.

Capitalism does stand for free love.

In the city of New York alone there are fifty thousand prostitutes. And the other cities and towns in the land have them in about the same proportion. Of course it is obvious that there must be more loose men than loose women, for otherwise the loose women could not make a living. There are a few girls who seem to be born bad and whose environment is such that

they cannot overcome the influence of heredity. But the vast majority of the girls who become prostitutes are forced into it by circumstances. Tenement houses, seasons of unemployment, long hours of labor, monotony of life—all these are breeders of prostitution. And all these are due to capitalism. Furthermore, the industries in this country are paying such miserable wages to their female employes that for many of them it is impossible on so small a sum to pay for board and lodging and keep their personal appearance up to the standard which their employers require and which their own impulses dictate.

When a girl finds that her paltry three or four dollars a week will not pay her living expenses, and a man offers to replenish her purse on the usual condition, she is not deliberately a fallen woman.

She is the helpless victim of a vicious and heartless social system.

Socialism will throw its protecting shield around her and it will say to the pimps and seducers, "Hands off, and give the American girl an opportunity to develop into pure and noble womanhood!"

Free love is promiscuity. The number of prostitutes is constantly increasing. It is all due to capitalism.

If that is not a system of free love, what is it?

Socialism will give every working woman her full earnings, it will give every working woman short hours of labor, it will wipe out the wretched tenements, and it will give every wo-

man who desires to work an opportunity to do so.

When that is done, the brothel will cease to receive recruits. Even many of its then occupants will welcome the opportunity to get back into respectable life.

Thus Socialism will remove one of the worst menaces to the home and family.

But the home and family have still other enemies under capitalism.

In the factories of the United States a million married women are working. They are working there because the wages their husbands receive are not sufficient to support their families. In many cases the husband is not able to find a job at all, but does the housework instead.

If these women had short hours of labor, if their tasks were suited to their strength, and they had no household duties in addition, this would not be an interference with family life.

But when a wife and mother has to work at hard labor in a factory from eight to fourteen hours a day, no family life worthy of the name can exist in her home.

It is practically an abolition of home and family.

It is altogether due to capitalism.

And Socialism will entirely cure that evil.

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the fact that there are vast numbers of children working in the mills, stores and mines, many of whom ought to be in the kindergarten and all of whom ought to be in school. Their labor is necessary under

present conditions to the support of the families to which they belong.

The tale of their sufferings is a harowing one.

Of all the villainies due to capitalism the blighting of the lives of little children is the most fiendish.

It makes one's blood boil to think of it.

Socialism will put an end to it.

Socialism will take the children out of the mills, mines, stores and factories and put them in school.

What sort of decent home and family life can there be where the little ones have to be sold into this infamous slavery?

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the fact that immense numbers of our young men dare not marry, on account of the uncertainty of being able to earn a living.

The last census shows that there are over seven million unmarried men in the United States. A normal man does not remain unmarried of his own free will.

This condition of things puts a premium on prostitution.

It is altogether due to capitalism.

Socialism will make it financially easy for every man to earn a living.

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the economic dependence of woman. Woman is the slave of man because man supports her.

I lay it down as an indisputable proposition that no woman can have genuine self-respect

unless she earns her own living.

It is so difficult for a woman to make an honest living for herself today that, although it is not a very polite thing to say, it is nevertheless a fact that there is a constant competition among women to win the marriageable men for husbands.

A woman is practically forced by conditions to marry the first man she has a chance to marry, whether she loves him or not, because she may never have another opportunity. Marriage without love is better than a brothel, at least in the eyes of the public. Of course, there are some women who marry for money when they are not forced to do so. The daughters of the capitalists are in the habit of marrying for money because it brings them social position. There are also some men who marry for money. They as a rule are not forced to do so, but merely do it because they are thrifty.

But the woman who marries for a home is forced to do so by economic necessity.

This fact is the cause of untold domestic unhappiness.

It is the cause of most of the divorces.

There is probably more sheer nonsense written about the divorce evil than any other evil of the day.

Short-sighted persons are unable to see that divorces are due to misfit marriages and that misfit marriages are due to capitalism.

Short-sighted persons want to deny divorces except for adultery. But when married people do not love each other it is prostitution for them to live together. It is legalized pros-

titution, to be sure, but it is prostitution just the same. The fact that it is legal does not make it any less leprous morally. These short-sighted persons want to compel these married couples to live together in prostitution.

Short-sighted persons also say that while divorce may be necessary, the divorced persons should not be permitted to marry again. The sexual passion is next to the appetite for food and drink in its strength. It is perfectly natural. Its normal and temperate gratification is necessary to the highest physical, mental, moral and spiritual development of the individual in the human form. Furthermore, it will find gratification in spite of all barriers, legally if possible, illegally if necessary. To forbid the remarriage of divorced persons is simply to drive them into illicit relations. That is what these shortsighted persons would do.

So long as there are matrimonial misfits there should be divorces, with as little publicity and humiliation as possible, and the divorced persons should be permitted to remarry as freely as anyone else.

The moral welfare of society demands this.

But Socialism will practically abolish divorce. It will do it, not by denying divorces, but by creating conditions wherein matrimonial misfits will be few and far between. When a man and woman marry for love alone, and are not pinched, narrowed and irritated afterward by poverty, by primitive industry carried on in the home, and by the relation of master and slave toward each other, the chances are that

they will live happily together all their lives and never think of wanting a divorce.

Socialism will give woman the power to earn a good living for herself.

Then she will be in a position to marry for love alone.

She is now an economic slave.

She will then be economically free.

Of course Socialism stands for equal suffrage. But it stands for infinitely more than that. It not only stands for the complete political emancipation of woman, but it also stands for the complete economic emancipation of woman.

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the fact that both the husband and the wife are constantly overworked.

For the husband, this makes the home too often a mere place to eat and sleep.

For the wife, it makes the home a prison where she is doomed to perpetual slavery and drudgery.

"Beyond the altar lies the washtub."

A bright young woman who could easily perform all the labor that ought to be required of anyone, without injury to mind or body, leaving her ample time for higher development and for civic duties, becomes a household drudge, warping her mind, deforming her body, and bringing the wrinkles of old age prematurely to her face. Frequently she not only does the family washing, but has to wash for well-to-do families while her husband walks the streets in search of a job. She has to bend over a cooking stove day in and day out, year in and year out. Little wonder if she be-

comes irritable and narrow-minded. What else could you expect under such circumstances? It is a marvel that she does not become narrower than she really does.

This condition of things is wholly due to capitalism.

Socialism will remedy that evil.

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the poverty of the masses of the people, which compels them to skimp themselves constantly and do without practically all of the ennobling and refining things of life which would make the home a real home instead of a pitiful caricature of a home.

This poverty is due entirely to capitalism.

Socialism will remove that evil.

In short, capitalism is the arch enemy of the home and family.

Capitalism is making home a farce and a travesty.

Capitalism is making family life impossible for millions of the people and a wretched failure for most of the rest.

Socialism will remove all of these menaces to the home and family.

We can therefore confidently expect Socialism to result in a wonderful elevation and purification of the home and family.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION

No, Socialism will not increase political corruption.

Capitalism increases political corruption.

Some people who have never thoughtfully considered the subject say that the public ownership and operation of the industries, with the consequent increase in public officials and public business, will lead to an increase in political corruption. And they say we have enough now.

Indeed, it is true that we have enough now. We have entirely too much.

Socialism proposes to abolish political corruption.

How?

By abolishing its cause.

What is its cause?

The private ownership of the industries.

In other words, capitalism is the cause of political corruption.

Capitalism is also the cause of private corruption, the cheating, lying, stealing, adulterating, grafting, etc., now going on in private business.

If Socialism merely transferred the corruption now going on in private business to the public business the total sum of corruption would not be increased. We would be as well off in that respect as we are now.

But we do not intend to do that.

We intend to abolish political corruption.

What is it that causes a legislator to take a bribe?

The private business interests of those who bribe him. It is to their financial interest to bribe him.

Socialism will make those business interests public. It will thus remove the incentive to

bribe him. Nobody could gain anything by doing so.

Who is it that corrupts the aldermen of the cities and towns?

The corporations which own the water works, the street railways, the gas works, the electric light plants, the telephone systems, the fire hose manufactories, the brick plants, the asphalt plants, and other industries which supply cities with the things they need.

Socialism will publicly own and operate all of those enterprises. The cause of that corruption will thus be removed.

What is it that causes a candidate for congress to spend more money getting elected than the salary of a congressman amounts to, corrupting the voters with liquor and buying them outright when possible?

It is because the great capitalists of the country, the owners of the big industries, in return for his favors to the capitalist class in congress, are only too glad to give him tips as to when and where to speculate and invest so as to make many times the amount of his salary. Sometimes they bribe him outright. But that is scarcely necessary. They can easily reward him by showing him how he can draw a fortune out of the pockets of the toiling dupes who elected him to congress.

Socialism will make the industries public property. There will be no incentive to buy congressmen. The congressional aspirant will no longer want the office badly enough to try to corrupt the voters in order to get it.

Why is it that the capitalist political parties,

the republican and democratic machines, shamelessly disgrace our election days by the use of liquor and money at the polls?

Because there are great corporations and trusts which are willing to pay these machines vast sums of money, called campaign funds, for their services in letting the capitalist class alone or passing such legislation as it desires.

Socialism will make those corporations and trusts public property and thereby remove the cause of this corruption.

What was the cause of the scandal in the postoffice department at Washington?

Private ownership of the industries. In other words, capitalism.

What were the corruptionists in the postoffice department charged with?

They were charged with taking bribes from private corporations in consideration of using their influence to get the postoffice department to let contracts to those private corporations for the manufacture of various articles used in the postoffice department.

If the public had owned those plants and manufactured those articles itself, instead of letting contracts to private corporations for them, there would not have been any opportunity for that corruption to occur.

That is perfectly plain.

That corruption was due to the private ownership of the plants which produced those articles.

Yes, but, if the public did own those manufacturing plants it would still have to buy, from other private corporations, material of various

kinds for use in those plants, and thus the door would be opened to corruption again in the letting of contracts to those other private corporations.

True.

And the remedy for that is the public ownership and operation of those other industries.

The remedy for the evils of public ownership is more public ownership.

Extend the circle of public ownership to the point where all the industries are made public, so that there are no longer any contracts to be let to private plants, and you have completely shut out the opportunity for such corruption.

Socialism will also introduce the initiative and referendum, so that city councils, legislatures and congresses will not have the power to pass important laws without submitting them to popular vote. Likewise the recall, which will enable the people to discharge any official at any time when they distrust him, instead of letting him fill out his term as they have to do at present.

Socialism will also make all men so vitally and personally interested in public affairs that the good men will keep the rascals out of the important positions. Hundreds of thousands of "good" men now attend to their private affairs, without giving a thought to public affairs. This gives designing men an advantage in public affairs. In the Socialist commonwealth the affairs of these "good" men will be public affairs. They will be compelled by the nature of things to give attention to public affairs.

In view of all these altered circumstances, it is

safe to say that Socialism will immediately upon its introduction practically abolish political corruption.

And in the course of a few years, as soon as the new environment has had time to eliminate by degrees the grafting propensity which has been so highly developed by capitalism, Socialism will abolish political corruption altogether.

Graft is a product of the present environment.

Socialism will provide an environment in which graft cannot live. It will wither away and die.

INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE—I WANT TO BE MY OWN BOSS

No, Socialism will not destroy individual initiative.

Capitalism has destroyed individual initiative.

You want to be your own boss.

You are not your own boss now.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, and even later, individual initiative was open to the people in general in this country to a large degree.

But it is no longer open to them.

And yet, the man who howls that he wants to be his own boss has not yet awakened to the fact that times have changed.

He does not realize that there has been an

industrial revolution and that the masses of the people are now living in a condition of industrial slavery.

He imagines that conditions are just the same as they were when he was young.

He imagines that a young man, or a man of any age, has the same opportunities to get on in the world that he had when he was young.

He forgets that when he was young the land was free. In order to get a farm all a man had to do was to go out and take it. And it did not require a lot of expensive machinery to till it, either. He had to brave the dangers of the frontier, of course, but, if he was willing to do that, the land was free as air.

He forgets that when he was young the demand for men in all avenues of industry was so great that it could not be supplied.

He forgets that today every trade and every profession is not only overcrowded, but literally jammed.

He forgets that when he was young the wealth of the country was distributed somewhat equitably, and that business and industry were carried on for the most part by individuals working on their own hook.

He forgets that at that time hand work was the chief method of carrying on industry.

He forgets that since that time wealth has for the most part concentrated into the hands of a few; that varied and marvelous machinery has been introduced, and that it now requires a great fortune to engage in business in such a manner as to be able to compete.

He forgets that business is now carried on for the most part by great aggregations of wealth, against which a man with only a limited amount of money has no show at all.

He forgets that this industrial revolution has been brought about by the change from simple hand tools to great labor saving machines which make associated effort necessary and inevitable.

He forgets that the small businesses are at best only making a bare living for those engaged in them, and that a great many of them are not even making that, but, on the contrary, are going to the wall.

He forgets that during the past thirty or forty years the great business establishments have crowded millions of small business men out of business and into the ranks of the wage laborers.

If he will take the trouble to open his eyes and look about him he will discover that the fact that a few men have acquired possession of the means of production and distribution dooms the masses of the people to continue to serve those few just as long as the capitalist system lasts.

The day when a man could be his own boss industrially, in the old sense of the term, has forever passed away.

The labor saving machine compels associated effort.

Capitalism makes this fact harmful.

Socialism will make it beneficial.

The workingman, so far as industrial matters are concerned, is governed absolutely by

the master class. He is not his own boss.

Even a trust magnate has to be governed largely by the will of other trust magnates. He is not his own boss.

The small merchant, the small manufacturer and the farmer are the abject slaves of the big capitalists. They are not their own bosses.

Even leaving the big capitalist out of consideration, the small business man, from whom we hear this objection the most frequently, is not his own boss.

In all cities and towns of considerable size the grocer is governed largely by the will of the retail grocers' association. He is not his own boss.

The butcher is governed largely by the will of the retail butchers' association. He is not his own boss.

The saloon keeper is governed largely by the will of the retail liquor dealers' association. He is not his own boss.

The job printer is governed largely by the will of the employing printers' association. He is not his own boss.

The building contractor is governed largely by the will of the builders' association. He is not his own boss.

The clothing merchant is governed largely by the will of the retail clothiers' association. He is not his own boss.

The hardware merchant is governed largely by the will of the retail hardware merchants' association. He is not his own boss.

The druggist is governed largely by the will

of the retail druggists' association. He is not his own boss.

The plumber is governed largely by the will of the plumbers' association. He is not his own boss.

And so on.

But that is a very small and insignificant part of the story.

The small business man is the abject slave of the trusts that control his line of business.

If they permit him to make a living at all, it is only a bare living. If he gets "funny" they crowd him out of business. Frequently, they crowd him out of business when he doesn't get "funny" at all, simply because he is superfluous, because they don't need him.

How do they crowd him out?

Easy.

By declining to grant him dealers' discounts. In other words, by refusing to sell goods to him at wholesale prices. Of course, he can not make anything by buying them at retail prices. So he goes out of business. He is not his own boss.

Even if he is permitted to stay in business he is not his own boss, for the wholesalers or manufacturers can withdraw the dealers' discounts from him at any time they see fit. If they do so, he goes to the wall. He is at their mercy. He is not his own boss.

Manufacturers frequently find it to their financal advantage to put in retail stocks of goods in various places in charge of hired managers. Such managers are not their own bosses.

Branch department stores, in charge of hired managers, have made their appearance in many towns. Such managers are not their own bosses.

There are in the United States thousands of liquor saloons which are owned by the big brewing companies and are in charge of hired managers. Such managers are not their own bosses.

Another favorite method on the part of the big manufacturers is to put in a stock on consignment to a small merchant. The public probably thinks the merchant owns the stock. But as a matter of fact the manufacturer owns it. The merchant merely pays the rent and the insurance, does the business and gets a commission on whatever he sells. He is absolutely dependent upon the will and whim of the manufacturer. He is not his own boss.

Even those merchants who own their own stocks are nearly all heavily in debt, either to the banks, or the wholesalers, or both. They are dependent upon the will and whim of their creditors, who can close them out so quick that they won't know what hurt them. They are not their own bosses.

To sum up.

The workingman cannot work without the consent of a capitalist. He cannot work without letting a capitalist confiscate the larger portion of his earnings. That is slavery, not liberty. The workingman is not his own boss.

The farmer cannot till the soil without letting the capitalists gouge him out of most of

the product of his toil. That is slavery, not liberty. The farmer is not his own boss.

The small business man cannot go into business or stay in it without the consent of the big capitalists. That is slavery, not liberty. The small business man is not his own boss.

The yearner for industrial individual initiative will have to reconcile himself to the fact that the time has forever gone by when a man could, in an industrial sense, be his own boss.

The labor saving machine compels associated effort.

The day of associated industrial effort is here.

The man who objects to it merely kicks against the pricks.

He will have his bruises for his pains.

If he does not clear the track he will be run over.

The wheels of progress cannot be turned back.

He may as well overhaul himself one time as another, tear himself loose from reactionary conservatism, and dump the senseless prejudices out of his mind.

The world has discarded industrial individual initiative in the old sense. Henceforth we will get along without it.

But Socialism will remove the evils that have come with this change. At the present time a few men dominate the whole industrial situation. The rest of us are their slaves.

Socialism will give us all an equal voice in industrial matters.

That will be far better than the old style of

individual initiative where we fought the whole world single handed and came pretty near starving to death at it.

But Socialism will give everyone individual initiative in a new sense of the term.

There is the most unbounded range for individual initiative in public affairs.

We can illustrate with a school teacher. The school teacher works for the public. She does not own the school and run it on her own hook. She is not her own boss in the old sense. She has to be guided in general terms by the collective will. Has she lost her individuality and her power of individual initiative? Not she. She has lost most of the graft propensity. But she has retained all of her individuality and improved upon it. She is always trying to improve herself. She is always trying to discover better methods of accomplishing results. Her heart and soul are in her work. She finds daily use for all of her powers of individual initiative in doing her portion of the collective work.

So in all occupations in the Socialist commonwealth. Each one will in doing his portion of the collective work need to bring his powers of individual initiative into use.

But industry will really become a minor affair in the Socialist commonwealth. It will be attended to first because the material wants must be provided for first.

But the great glory of Socialism is that it will emancipate the people from eternal slavery to the securing of mere food, clothing and shelter.

Socialism will enable the people to employ the larger portion of their time in higher pursuits.

In these higher pursuits individual initiative will have full swing.

And the people will be amazed when they remember that they once prized the old capitalistic individual initiative.

THE FARMER AND HIS LITTLE FARM

No, Socialism does not propose to deprive the farmer of his little farm.

Capitalism is depriving the farmer of his little farm.

On a certain occasion when I was billed to speak at a country school house in Kansas the following conversation took place between two farmers living in the vicinity:

"Are you going to the Socialist meeting tonight?"

"No, I guess not."

"Oh, you better go and throw in your little eighty!"

It is capitalism that makes the farmer throw in his little eighty.

The land is slipping out of his grasp.

In 1880, twenty-five per cent of the farmers of America were renters.

In 1890, twenty-eight per cent of them were renters.

In 1900, thirty-five per cent of them were renters.

Who is depriving the farmer of his little farm?

But that is not all.

Mortgages are eating up a large percentage of the farmers who are not renters.

A mortgaged farmer is but little better off than a renter. About the only difference is that he pays interest instead of rent.

Capitalism is gradually and surely squeezing the land out of the farmer's grasp.

But if he should have a little land left by the time the Socialist comonwealth is introduced, Socialism will not deprive him of it. Not if he wants to use it himself. Since the primary object of Socialism is to stop robbery and secure to the useful workers of the world the full value of their labor, it is only necessary to the carrying out of that object that we should have the public ownership of those things which when privately owned can be used by the private owners to rob other people. A farmer operating his own farm does not rob anyone else.

Socialism will not force him into the public farming. Socialism will depend entirely upon its own superior profitableness and attractiveness to draw him in.

It may be that at ordinary kinds of farming a given number of farmers working together with gigantic machinery can produce more than the same number of farmers each working separately on his private farm can produce.

If so, public farming will be more profitable. It will also be more sociable, more pleasant, and will afford a great deal more leisure and oppor-

tunity for travel, culture and mental development.

In that case the small farmer will go into it because it will be to his interest to do so.

Nevertheless, if he should feel that he would prefer to stay on his small farm he will be at perfect liberty to do so. And, although he may not be as well off there as he would be at public farming, yet he will at least be vastly better off than he is now, because Socialism will mean the public ownership of the trusts which now pluck him of the bulk of his product. He will be able to secure the full value of his product. So, no matter whether he feels that he wants to enter into public farming or stay on his private farm, it is in either case to his interest to vote for Socialism.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

No, Socialism will not prevent the people from owning private property.

Capitalism prevents the people from owning private property.

Capitalism confiscates the bulk of the product of the wage worker. This makes it impossible for the average wage worker to own his own home. It makes it impossible for him to own anything but the cheapest household furniture. He has the cheapest carpets on his floors. He has the cheapest curtains on his windows. He has the cheapest clothing for his family. He has the cheapest food for his table. He is not able to afford books

and pictures and statuary. If he manages to buy a piano on monthly payments, it is a cheap, tinny, bangy affair that degenerates rather than cultivates the musical faculty.

All of his property put together would not invoice more than a hundred or two of dollars.

In fact, it is not fit for junk.

Capitalism prevents him from possessing private property.

In the cities and towns of the United States there are 10,488,000 homes—or alleged homes.

Of these, 6,351,000 are occupied by renters.

Of the remainder, 1,101,000 are mortgaged.

Of the entire 10,488,000 homes, less than one-third are owned by their occupants free of encumbrance.

The number of renters is constantly increasing.

The percentage of mortgages is also constantly increasing.

See the second volume of the census of 1900.

In the cities of 100,000 and over, in the United States, seventy-two per cent of the population lives in rented houses.

In San Francisco, seventy-six out of every hundred families live in rented houses. Eight out of every hundred live in houses to which they hold the title, but which are mortgaged. Sixteen live in houses which they own free of encumbrance.

In New Orleans, seventy-eight out of every hundred families live in rented houses. Three live in houses to which they hold the title, but which are mortgaged. Nineteen live in houses which they own free of encumbrance.

In Chicago, seventy-five out of every hundred families live in rented houses. Thirteen live in houses to which they hold the title, but which are mortgaged. Twelve live in houses which they own free of encumbrance.

In New York, eighty-eight out of every hundred families live in rented houses. Seven live in houses to which they hold the title, but which are mortgaged. A meager five live in houses which they own free of encumbrance.

It is needless to say that these overwhelming majorities of homeless are the families of the working class.

I have already shown how the farmers are being stripped of their property.

Capitalism prevents those who produce property from owning property.

Socialism will give everybody a chance to own private property.

Not the kind of private property that can be used to gouge other people, however.

But I do not mean that Socialism will forbid any man owning and running any industry he pleases. Socialism will own and run industries itself. It will give the workers the full value of their product. It will sell the products at cost. Anyone else engaging in the same industries would, therefore, have to give the workers the full value of their product and sell the products at cost. But he couldn't make anything that way. Consequently he wouldn't do it. If the industry were of such a character that he could carry it on by his own labor alone he could do so. But he would not be exploiting anyone else then.

"But," I hear Mr. Capitalist's whining voice complaining, "will there be no way in which I can invest my money so that I can draw an income from it without working myself?"

No, you will positively have to quit stealing.

Socialism will enable everyone to own a comfortable and healthful home, substantial, beautiful and attractive furnishings for his home, and all of the things which are necessary for expanding culture and a wholesome, healthful life.

In other words, Socialism will enable everyone to own all the private property he needs for his own use.

Luxury and poverty are both evil.

Socialism furnishes the desirable middle ground between these two extremes, the golden mean, the happy medium, the condition wherein there will be luxury and poverty for none, but plenty for all, and the amplest opportunity for physical, mental, moral and spiritual development.

COMPENSATION FOR RISK

But, if a man invests his money in the means of production and distribution, is he not entitled to a profit on his investment on account of risking his money?

No, he is not.

Why?

Because he has no right to have money invested in the means of production and distribution.

Of course, if a man merely owns such portion of the means of production and distribution as he can use himself, nobody is wronged.

But, for a private individual or corporation to have money invested in the means of production and distribution, thus drawing an income from other men's toil, is wrong.

It is wrong for the same reasons that it is wrong to own a chattel slave.

If you own a chattel slave you appropriate to yourself the product of the slave's labor.

So, also, if you invest money in the means of production and distribution, you appropriate to yourself the product of the workingmen's labor.

But, although that is amply sufficient to make it wrong, still that is not all.

The people positively have to use the means of production and distribution in order to live.

If you have money invested in the means of production and distribution, you own the people's means of subsistence.

To own their means of subsistence is identically the same thing morally as owning them.

The principle involved is identically the same as the principle involved in chattel slavery.

Having money invested in the means of production and distribution is, therefore, wrong for the same reasons that it is wrong to own a chattel slave.

A man not only has no right to a return on money invested, but he has no right to have money invested.

Of course, some men have to do so under the present system.

The present system compels men to do wrong.

Socialism will enable them to do right.

ABSTINENCE

No, the capitalists did not get rich by their abstinence.

They got rich by the abstinence of the workers.

The apologists for capitalism make the absurd claim that the reason the capitalists have accumulated money is because they have abstained from buying things, while the poor have squandered their money.

But the truth is that the poor are the people who have abstained.

The workers have abstained from living in decent houses.

They have abstained from the use of modern conveniences.

They have abstained from wearing decent clothing.

They have abstained from eating choice foods.

They have abstained from buying books.

They have abstained from sending their children to the colleges and universities.

They have abstained from availing themselves of the broadening influences of travel.

They have abstained from practically everything that conduces to wide culture, and physical, mental, moral and spiritual growth.

In other words, they have abstained from practically everything that distinguishes men from beasts and makes life worth living.

In the meantime, the capitalists have lived in luxury.

They have lived in splendid mansions with acres of lawn, instead of tenements or hovels on twenty-five or fifty foot lots.

They have been surrounded by every modern convenience.

They have worn costly fabrics.

They have loaded their tables with the choicest of foods.

They have bought every book they wanted, although they don't read them, but merely buy them to show off the fine bindings on their shelves and make a pretense of literary culture.

They have sent their boys and girls to college, from which, if the parents were not rich and powerful, most of them would be expelled because they have been so pampered and spoiled by excessive luxury that they have become degenerate.

They take their families and go trotting around the globe whenever they feel like it.

They give balls that cost more than a workingman's wages amount to in a lifetime.

Their whole life is a ceaseless round of luxury, gluttony and wasteful extravagance.

And, yet, they have the colossal nerve to calmly assert that they are wealthy because they have abstained.

And they have the still more colossal nerve to ask the workingmen to give them five or six hours a day of their labor for nothing, as a reward for their abstinence.

The workingmen have done so.

The workingmen by voting the republican and democratic tickets have voted to continue doing so.

The capitalists are wealthy because the workingmen have been giving them five or six hours a day of their labor for nothing.

In other words, they are wealthy because the workingmen have abstained.

MATERIALISTS—RAINBOW CHASERS

No, the Socialists are not rainbow chasers.

The opponents of Socialism are rainbow chasers.

Frequently some opponent of Socialism, in one breath, charges us with being rank materialists, who are concerned only with base, physical, material things.

And, in the next breath, he charges us with being rank idealists and rainbow chasers who are attempting to establish an impossible heaven on earth.

Of course, these charges do not hang together very well. But, then, as our critics are in the wrong, we cannot expect them to be reasonable.

We Socialists are neither rank materialists nor rank idealists.

We have high ideals, but we do not spend our time dreaming about them.

We recognize the fact that the reason men cannot approach their ideals, but are curbed and thwarted, is because their actions and aspirations are limited and governed by an unfavorable environment.

We have our knife out for that environment.

When we lay that environment in its grave we propose to replace it with a better one.

Men are chiefly the product of their environment, and of heredity, which is chiefly composed of inherited environment.

The nature of the environment of men is determined chiefly by economic conditions.

Economic conditions are determined chiefly by the mode of producing and distributing the necessities and comforts of life.

To make a radical change in the environment, you have to change the mode of production and distribution.

If the investigator will read a standard work on the economic interpretation of history a new light will dawn upon him.

The economic conditions now prevailing make the environment of the average man such that he is condemned to starve himself mentally, morally and spiritually, in order to escape physical starvation. He is compelled to scramble furiously for money enough to provide a bare existence for himself and family.

We Socialists are not satisfied to have men compelled to spend their entire lives in escaping physical starvation and scrambling furi-

ously for money enough to provide a bare existence.

We know that under a rational system the world's industrial work can be done in less than half the time spent upon it under the present wasteful, unscientific, chaotic system.

We want men to have the time and the means and the opportunity to cultivate their higher natures.

But we know that that can only be accomplished by changing their environment. In other words, by abolishing capitalism and introducing Socialism.

Therefore, when we are charged with being rank materialists or rank idealists, I reply that the Socialist is the only materialist who is not rank and he is likewise the only idealist who is not rank. He is neither a material groveler nor a rainbow chaser.

The man who makes material ends his ultimate object is the material groveler.

And the man who spends his life, as some opponents of Socialism do, in trying to get men to be decent under the present impossible conditions, instead of spending his life in abolishing those conditions and replacing them with conditions wherein men can be decent, is the rainbow chaser.

The Socialist is practical.

IMPRACTICABILITY

No, Socialism is not impracticable. It is not a dream.

Capitalism is impracticable. It is a nightmare.

Do you think a system which drives thousands of men to suicide is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives thousands of people insane is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives millions of men to drink is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives hundreds of thousands of girls to prostitution is practicable?

Do you think a system which throws hundreds of thousands of children into the industrial mill and grinds the life out of them is practicable?

Do you think a system which deliberately manufactures hoboes is practicable?

Do you think a system which puts a premium on dishonesty is practicable?

Do you think a system which is an enemy of the family is practicable?

Do you think a system which bars out the masses of the people from the higher things of life is practicable?

Do you think a system which compels everybody to violate the Golden Rule is practicable?

Do you think a system which takes the product of the useful worker away from him and hands it over to the useless capitalist is practicable?

Capitalism is guilty of all these and many other crimes. And all of them are constantly growing worse.

Capitalism is impracticable. It has been a

mere makeshift. It has been a mere stepping stone to something better.

Socialism is practicable.

Public ownership has already been demonstrated to be practicable.

Of all the institutions now existing, if you want to see the ones which come the nearest to being models of efficiency, take a peep at the publicly owned postoffice, the publicly owned public schools, the publicly owned fire departments, the publicly owned water departments, etc. These institutions have been operated under very unfavorable circumstances. They have been operated in the interest of the capitalist class. And they have been set down in a system reeking with graft and corruption. They have been almost entirely without safeguards from corruption. And yet they are the best models of efficiency now in existence.

I do not believe in war, except for freedom, but I cannot help noticing the fact that the crews on the publicly owned vessels in the United States navy are more efficient than those on any privately owned vessel in the world. When the privately owned General Slocum went down, burning and drowning a thousand and twenty people, the ill-paid and undrilled crew was altogether unequal to the situation. They did not know how to handle the rafts and life-boats. They had never had a fire drill. They would not have known how to handle the hose even if it had not been rotten. They were panic stricken. They were worse than useless in trying to save the passengers. Surely, inefficiency could not be car-

ried farther than that. Compare it with the marvelous efficiency of the crews of the publicly owned vessels at Manila and Santiago.

The practicability of public ownership has already been completely demonstrated.

If, however, we Socialists were trying to get people to vote for public ownership against their own interests, or even merely aside from their own interests, we should be impractical.

It is true that we sometimes appeal to sentiment incidentally. We sometimes depict the horrors of child slavery. We sometimes describe the pitiable situation in which the women of the land are placed, etc. Some people can be reached in that way. It also serves to rivet attention. But it is entirely incidental.

At this stage in the evolution of the human race a movement which appealed chiefly to sentiment would be doomed to stagnate. Only a limited number of people can be reached in that way. The great majority of men are governed by their own interests.

The prohibition party is a sample of movements that are doomed to stagnate. The fact that it does not stand for anything basic ought to doom it, but, as the people have not yet got their bearings, that is not sufficient to account for its long drawn out failure. Its vote hovers around a quarter of a million, sometimes a little higher, sometimes a little lower, but not growing any in the long run. It appeals chiefly to sentiment. It has simply reached the outside limit of a movement that appeals to senti-

ment. It can't grow. It has reached its limit. It is impractical.

If we Socialists were like the prohibitionists we should be impractical also. But we are not.

We appeal primarily to the interest of the voters.

It is absolutely to the interest of the wage workers to vote for Socialism.

It is also to the interest of most of the farmers, most of the small business men and most of the small professional men, to vote for Socialism.

It is to the interest of at least ninety per cent of the voters of the United States to vote for Socialism.

We appeal to their interest.

If that is not practical, what is?

Socialism is the natural solution of all the puzzles of society. It is the natural and only solution of the trust problem. Wealth is now in the hands of a few. The many are serving the few. This has all been brought about by natural development. Natural development now dictates that these centralized industries shall be taken over by the public, so that all the people shall share in the results of this natural development.

This is in the line of evolution.

It is the only way to obey the law of progress.

It substitutes system for chaos.

It is rational.

It is sane.

It is the only practicable thing that can be done.

It does not require angels to accomplish it.

All it requires is the concentrated efforts of those to whose interest it is to attain it.

All it requires is the application of common sense to society.

All of the reforms and superficial remedies that are proposed as cures for social ills are mere hopeless floundering.

They are attempts to patch a rotten garment.

Socialism is common sense.

It is natural.

It is evolutionary.

It is intensely practical.

CLASS AGAINST CLASS

No, the Socialists did not divide the people into classes.

Capitalism divided the people into classes.

The Socialists have merely been honest enough to recognize this fact and act accordingly, instead of blindfolding themselves and making believe that there were no classes.

It is the mission, the logical and historic mission, of the working class to bear the brunt of the fight for the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of Socialism.

It is its mission to do so because it is to its proximate interest to do so.

The Socialist movement is based upon this

fact. It is based upon the class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class.

The term, class struggle, sounds harsh to those who have never heard it before. Gentle natures would prefer not to have any class struggle.

But we have to deal with facts instead of wishes.

The classes exist.

It is not our fault that they exist.

We wish they did not exist.

But they do exist.

And the capitalist class is constantly gnawing at the vitals of the working class.

We can't wipe the classes out of existence by closing our eyes and ignoring their existence. We can only invite disaster that way.

The only way to wipe them out of existence is by the oppressed class conquering the oppressing class at the ballot box and absorbing it.

It is to the proximate interest of the capitalist class to continue the capitalist system; so that it can keep on exploiting the working class out of the bulk of the product of its toil.

It is to the proximate interest of the working class to destroy the capitalist system and introduce Socialism, so as to abolish exploitation and secure the full product of its toil.

The interests of the two classes are, therefore, utterly antagonistic.

I repeat that the reason the brunt of the burden of abolishing capitalism and introducing Socialism is placed upon the shoulders of the working class is because it is to the proximate

interest of the working class to do so. Because it is the only class that has nothing to lose but its chains, and has a world to gain.

This is the line of battle.

The working class against the capitalist class.

To be sure, Socialism is ultimately to the interest of everybody. But people as a rule are swayed by their proximate, not by their ultimate, interest.

As for the minor economic groups, the farmers, small business men, etc., the only sensible thing for them to do is to ally themselves with the class with which their interests are the most nearly identical, which happens to be the working class.

The class struggle will continue until we win.

Then, class distinctions will be abolished by abolishing the economic injustice which causes them.

WHO THROWS AWAY HIS VOTE

No, you do not throw away your vote when you vote the Socialist ticket.

You throw away your vote when you vote a capitalist ticket, the republican or democratic ticket.

The man who votes against his own interest is the one who throws away his vote. If you vote the republican or democratic ticket, you vote against your own interest.

The republican and democratic parties stand for the continuation of the present system, which robs you. They are run in the interest of the capitalist class.

If you vote the republican or democratic ticket you help to strengthen and perpetuate the rule of your enemies, so that they can continue to rob you.

Your ballot is a strong and heavy club.

If you vote the republican or democratic ticket you hand that club over to the capitalist class, saying, "Please smash me over the head with that!"

And they smash you, all right.

If you vote the Socialist ticket, even though it does not win, you strengthen and build up the party which is destined to emancipate you.

The only way you can avoid throwing away your vote is by voting the Socialist ticket.

The only way in which you can make your vote hasten the day of your deliverance is by voting the Socialist ticket.

To vote any other ticket is to vote to make your chains thicker.

Socialism is not a far-off dream. If you have that erroneous notion in your head the sooner you get it out the better.

Socialism is the next step.

This is demonstrated by the great and constant increase in the Socialist vote all over the civilized world.

The Socialist vote of the United States increased from ninety-six thousand in 1900 to four hundred and nine thousand in 1904.

The Socialist vote of France increased from

forty-seven thousand in 1887 to eight hundred and ninety-four thousand in 1906.

The Socialist vote of Germany increased from thirty thousand in 1867 to three million and eight thousand in 1903.

In 1870, the total Socialist vote of the world was in, round numbers, thirty thousand.

In 1880, it was four hundred and thirty-eight thousand.

In 1890, it was one million six hundred thousand.

In 1900, it was four million six hundred thousand.

In 1905, it was about seven million.

No, Socialism is not a far off dream.

MAKING PEOPLE GOOD BY LAW

Can you make people good by law?

That depends on what you mean by making people good by law.

If you should pass a law providing that "it is hereby enacted that John Smith shall be good," it would in all probability not have the slightest beneficial effect upon John Smith.

But, if you were to pass a law providing that John Smith should be surrounded by a good environment, and then carry the provisions of that law into actual operation, John Smith would begin to get better right away.

Capitalism uses the former method.

Socialism will use the latter method.

Capitalism provides by law that people shall

not murder, nor steal, nor cheat, nor fight, nor adulterate, etc., etc. But the environment is such that they keep right on doing these things.

Socialism will change the environment so that people will no longer be driven to do evil.

Men are chiefly the product of their environment.

If their environment is bad, they are bad.

If their environment is good, they are good.

Under the present capitalist system, the environment of all men is comparatively bad. All men are thereby compelled to be comparatively bad, whether they want to or not.

It has been said that the province of government is to make it hard for men to do wrong and easy for them to do right. That is surely one of the provinces of government.

But the present system does the exact opposite.

It makes it hard for men to do right and easy for them to do wrong.

Indeed, it compels them to do wrong.

Socialism does not propose to pass a law providing that "it is hereby enacted that all men shall be good."

But it does propose to change the environment of men so that it will no longer be necessary for them to do wrong, so that it will be easy for them to do right and hard for them to do wrong.

We propose to establish a social system in which it will not be to the interest of men to do wrong.

It is perfectly evident that, under such circumstances, men will become morally better.

COMPETITION—STRUGGLE

No, the struggle between human beings for a bare animal existence is not necessary to progress. It is a great barrier to progress.

Benjamin Kidd, in his Social Evolution, has tried to make out that in the Socialist commonwealth the human race will degenerate because of the removal of the fierce struggle for a bare animal existence. And there are many other enemies of Socialism who agree with him.

He lays it down as an absolute and invariable rule that every quality possessed by humanity is developed and maintained by conflict, by competition, by ceaseless struggle of human beings with each other. And he draws from this false premise the conclusion that Socialism, by removing the competition for a bare animal existence, will degenerate and destroy all of the qualities of the human race.

It is emphatically false that competition is the only factor in developing and maintaining human qualities.

But I shall not enter into that question just now. For the present moment I will grant, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Kidd is right when he says that competition is the only factor in developing and maintaining human qualities. Does it logically follow from that that Socialism will work the degeneracy of the human race?

On the contrary, it follows logically that Socialism will remove the causes which are producing the bad qualities of the human race, and will continue and develop the causes which are producing the good qualities of the human race.

The trouble with Mr. Kidd is that he has committed a glaring error in logic.

Not only are his premises erroneous, but his conclusion is too big for his premises. I have agreed to overlook the falsity of his premises for the present, but I want to call attention to his too big conclusion.

His mistake in logic may be illustrated in this way. It is as if Mr. Kidd had said: A river cannot have any water in it unless it has tributary streams flowing into it.

The sewers of the cities are tributary streams. Therefore, if the cities burn their sewage, instead of letting it flow into the river, the river will dry up.

But, there are other tributary streams besides the sewers.

Socialism does not propose to cut off any of those tributary streams which are bearing pure water into the river.

It merely proposes to burn the sewage, and thus purify the river.

Socialism does not propose to abolish competition.

It does propose to abolish competition for a bare animal existence.

It does not propose to abolish competition for excellence, superiority and preeminence in the myriads of higher human activities.

Competition in these myriads of higher activities is so much more humane than the brutal competition for a mere animal existence that it might more properly be called emulation. But I will stick to Mr. Kidd's word and call it competition.

It used to be quite customary among human

beings to compete with each other in physical strength. The stronger man killed the weaker man. That kind of competition developed bloodthirstiness. But bloodthirstiness is an undesirable quality. To do away with that quality is to develop, not to degenerate, humanity. Consequently, it was a good thing for the human race when that custom largely passed out of existence.

It is now a custom among human beings, forced upon them by the capitalist system, to compete with each other for enough money to buy the necessaries of life. The man who possesses more of the qualities necessary to succeed in that competition gets the money, while the man who possesses less of the qualities necessary to succeed in that competition either starves to death, or at least starves mentally, morally and spiritually. That kind of competition develops greed, graft, dread, fear, jealousy, pride, vanity, narrow-mindedness, ignorance, pessimism, hopelessness, meanness, stinginess, cowardice, craftiness, stealth, and other kindred qualities.

But those are undesirable qualities.

To do away with those qualities is to develop, not to degenerate, humanity.

Consequently, it will be a good thing for the human race when those qualities are destroyed by the abolition of capitalism and the introduction of Socialism.

Socialism will remove the brutal and desperate competition for a bare animal existence. It will thereby give men a full and free opportunity to compete with each other for preeminence in such things as making products, managing industries, inventing machines, curing disease, developing

any and all of the many arts and sciences, writing books, painting pictures, and the thousands of other things which these suggest.

In other words, Socialism, by abolishing the brutal and desperate struggle for a bare animal existence, will give men a full and free opportunity to compete with each other for preeminence in all of the industrial arts, all of the fine arts, and all of the liberal arts.

It will even give men a full and free opportunity to compete with each other for preeminence in moral and spiritual things.

It will even give men a full and free opportunity to compete with each other for preeminence in doing good in the world, for excellence in altruism, for excellence in unselfishness.

It is perfectly evident that these species of competition, to which Socialism will give a free field, are of such a nature that each competitor, by competing, instead of dragging his fellow men down, must necessarily assist and elevate them. For, by doing any of these things better than other people can do them, he is doing other people a good turn.

It is also perfectly evident that these species of competition, to which Socialism will give a free field, are of such a nature that they will develop manual dexterity, mental acumen, broadmindedness, enlightenment, good will, cordiality, brotherhood, happiness, generosity, courage, honesty, magnanimity, liberality, kindness, buoyancy, gladness, hopefulness, optimism, cheerfulness, purity, self-possession, love, and other kindred qualities.

But those are eminently desirable qualities.

To develop them is to develop, not to degenerate, humanity.

Consequently, even if Mr. Kidd's rule that competition is the only factor in the development of human qualities were correct, it would necessarily and inevitably follow that Socialism, instead of degenerating the human race, is absolutely necessary to the development of the human race, because it alone can abolish those kinds of competition which develop brutal and undesirable qualities, and it alone can give men a full and free opportunity to engage in those kinds of competition which develop higher and eminently desirable qualities.

Thus, the desperate and hard pushed enemies of Socialism are convicted out of their own mouths.

In so far as competition is a factor in the development of human qualities, Socialism will strip it of its villainous and degenerating features and turn it to good advantage.

But, as a matter of fact, competition is not the only factor in the development of human qualities.

It is not even the chief factor in the development of the higher human qualities.

It has been the chief factor in the development of the brutal and undesirable human qualities.

But it is only a minor factor in the development of the higher human qualities.

Co-operation is the dominant factor in the development of the higher human qualities.

Competition is one of the vital principles of the universe.

But it operates chiefly in a comparatively low

sphere, at a comparatively low stage of progress.

Co-operation is also one of the vital principles of the universe.

But it operates chiefly in a comparatively high sphere, at a comparatively advanced stage of progress.

However, just as we find a mild form of competition in operation in the higher spheres, so also we find a mild form of co-operation in the lower spheres.

I am only repeating what has already been pointed out by others when I say that we find co-operation in the animal and vegetable worlds and even in the so-called inorganic world.

What is it, for example, that keeps the earth in its orbit?

Why, if the stars and planets did not co-operate with each other to hold it in its place, it would go crashing through space and be shivered into countless fragments by contact with some larger sphere. That is co-operation in the so-called inorganic world.

Almost every plant has a flower with bright, beautiful petals. These petals attract the bees and other insects. These insects help to distribute the pollen, thus insuring fertilization and reproduction. That is co-operation between the vegetable and animal worlds.

Among the lower animals, those which survive in the greatest numbers are the ones which co-operate with each other. In other words, those which go in droves or herds, like the elephant, the buffalo, the deer, the antelope, the wild-goat, the sheep, the wolf, the jackal, the reindeer, the hippopotamus, the zebra, the hyena, and the seal.

Among men, we owe all the civilization we have to co-operation.

If we did not co-operate at all we should have stark anarchy.

The trouble is that we have not carried co-operation far enough. We are permitting it to remain imperfect and incomplete.

We must carry it to its logical and natural conclusion.

We have come to a point where we can not make any further progress unless we do.

We are socially marking time, because we are ready for Socialism and yet capitalism is still hanging on.

Capitalism has outlived its usefulness.

It is now a detriment.

It is a barrier in the way of progress.

It is like an iron band around the wrist of a youth.

The wrist cannot develop until the band is removed.

MENTAL LABOR

No, Socialism will not discourage mental labor.

Capitalism discourages mental labor.

Capitalism prevents the vast majority of children from getting a good education.

Capitalism also prevents the vast majority of adults from cultivating their minds.

Under capitalism, higher education is a hindrance to true success.

For a number of years the Bowery Branch of

the Y. M. C. A. in New York has discovered by actual investigation that more than twenty-five per cent of the men who apply for aid at that institution are men who have been educated in university, college, academy, or high school.

The startling enormity of these figures will be realized when we consider that less than two per cent of the youth of the United States graduate from high school, and less than one-half of one per cent graduate from college.

It is impossible for one to go through a higher institution of learning without taking on some measure of refinement and culture, which makes it disgusting for him to have to work all the petty grafts and stoop to the brutalities that are necessary in order to get ahead under capitalism. Of course, many of them swallow their qualms, chloroform their consciences, and go in to win. When they do that, their superior intelligence enables them to outstrip many of their competitors. So, they are well represented among "successful" politicians and "successful" business men.

But when such a man holds on to his aversion to being a grafter, he too often finds himself crowded out. Not being skilled in any trade, he also finds it difficult to make a living by manual labor. Hence, the disproportionately large percentage of these men among the unemployed and the tramps.

Capitalism puts a premium on mere superficial business education. It discourages broad and liberal education.

Socialism will not only give everybody an opportunity to secure a broad and liberal educa-

tion, but it will also make a broad and liberal education an advantage in life, instead of a detriment.

Socialism does not propose to abolish mental labor and give the entire product of society to manual labor.

When we speak of the working class, we do not mean merely those who work with their hands, but those who work with their brains as well. The fact is that every worker works with both brain and hands. In some cases, the one preponderates; in other cases the other preponderates.

Those newspapers and orators who take delight in building up a straw man, naming him Socialism, and then knocking him down, frequently say that the Socialists intend to get along without brains, that they despise men who have a genius for managing industries, that they think such men are socially useless, and that they propose to attempt to get along without them.

This, of course, is nonsense.

The man who has a genius for managing industries will be sure of a good job in the Socialist commonwealth.

He will be in demand.

We honor him for his ability now.

He is usually a hired man.

The real capitalist does not manage the industries. He sits in his office and figures out ways and means of investing his money to the best advantage. He owns stock in dozens of corporations and takes practically no part in the management of any of them. At the most he attends a meeting of the board of directors now

and then and has his say regarding the general policy of the business.

But the actual managing is done by the managers, the superintendents, the foremen, etc. Sometimes they are stockholders, sometimes not. In so far as they draw an income from investments, they are capitalists also. But, in so far as they do the actual work of managing industry, they do necessary and useful social labor and are entitled to compensation therefor.

A capitalist is only a capitalist in so far as he rakes into his own coffers the earnings of others by owning the means of production and distribution, directly or indirectly. He may get this income through dividends, or rent, or interest, or profits, or unearned salary. He may draw a big salary without doing anything. Or, he may draw a salary altogether out of proportion to his actual labor, so that most of it, or a part of it, is unearned. But, when he does take a hand in production or distribution himself, by doing some of the actual useful work of managing industry, to that extent he is not a capitalist, but a useful worker. Socialism fully recognizes this. And Socialism proposes only to abolish his function as a capitalist. It does not propose to abolish his function as a brain worker.

Socialism proposes to pay the brain worker for his brain work, not for investments.

BOOK-KEEPING—PROPORTIONING OF INCOMES

No, Socialism does not mean endless book-keeping.

Capitalism means endless bookkeeping.

Under the present capitalist system, each separate business, big and little, has to have its complete system of account books. Taking them altogether, the term, endless bookkeeping, is scarcely an exaggeration.

Socialism, by bringing system out of the present chaos, will reduce the amount of bookkeeping to the minimum.

But, shall we not have to have a myriad of expert mathematicians and bookkeepers to calculate how much each worker produces every day and keep account of it?

I do not think so.

The fact that some workers will be doing distributive work which could not well be calculated in that manner would make it difficult to carry such a project into effect.

It is not necessary.

A mathematician can calcuate the distance from the earth to the sun without measuring it with a yardstick or a tapeline. It would be difficult to do that. There is an easier way.

So also the real value of each worker's work can be calculated without measuring it up and figuring it out. It would be difficult to do that. There is an easier way.

The universal introduction of labor saving machinery, and the consequent division of labor, have made the production of men so nearly equal that the difference in incomes will not be large.

But, in so far as there is a difference, it can be accurately ascertained by permitting free play to the law of supply and demand.

The compensation in any given occupation can

be raised, or, what amounts to the same thing, the hours can be shortened, until exactly the right number of men are attracted to that occupation.

If too many apply, the compensation can be lowered, or the hours lengthened, until the right number remains.

Add to this the fact that the workers in any industry can dock anyone who shirks, and you have an accurate automatic method of giving each worker the actual value of his work, without any slavish figuring and calculating.

Devotees of capitalism who are so absurdly fearful lest Socialism should destroy incentive will please note that this method retains the incentive to gain a higher income or shorter hours.

SAVING

No, saving would not make the people prosperous.

Saving would bring on a disastrous panic.

Some people are sincerely of the opinion that the woeful condition of the people at the present time is due to improvidence. They think the masses of the people could save money if they would. And they think it would be a good idea for them to do so.

The masses of the people do not get money enough to provide a decent living by spending all of it.

The average wage is about four hundred and thirty-seven dollars a year.

That settles that part of the question.

But, if the workingmen did skimp themselves still more than they already do, and did manage thereby to save some money, their wages would be cut down just that much.

Their saving money would be proof that they could live on less than they are living on now. Therefore their wages would be cut down. For, wages, in the long run, always seek the level of subsistence, under the present system. In other words, the workingmen as a whole get enough to live on and enable them to reproduce new workers. Labor is a commodity. It is bought for what it costs to produce it, namely, what it costs for the laborers barely to live and to raise children to take their places.

This is the iron law of wages.

It will continue to govern wages as long as capitalism exists.

Consequently, if the workingmen were to save money on a large scale their wages would be cut down to the same extent.

Then, there is another feature about this matter of saving.

Saving, under the present system, is a good thing for an individual, provided other people do not save.

If all the people saved, it would be a bad thing for all of them.

How do I figure that out?

I will tell you.

There are about thirty million persons in the United States who are engaged in gainful occupations. Suppose each one of those thirty million persons should begin to save a dollar a week.

That would draw thirty million dollars a week out of circulation. A howl of despair would go up from the people who are running the retail stores where that thirty million dollars a week is now being spent. There would be thirty million dollars a week less of purchases at the retail stores. Many of the retail stores would therefore go to the wall, and the others would have to discharge thousands of clerks and delivery men, and quit buying something less than thirty million dollars a week of goods from the jobbers. Some of the jobbers would therefore go to the wall and the others would be compelled to discharge thousands of clerks, bookkeepers, etc., and quit buying something less than thirty million dollars a week of goods from the manufacturers. Some of the manufacturers would therefore go to the wall, and the others would have to discharge thousands of men because they could not sell their products. The saving itself and the closing down of industries would reduce the demand for coal, and thousands of miners would be discharged. The saving itself and the throwing of men out of employment and thus cutting off their purchasing power so that they could not buy the usual amount of farm products would cause the price of farm products to go down. The farmers would have to take lower prices for their products. Their own purchasing power would thereby be reduced, so that they could not purchase as much as usual from the retail stores. Still more retail stores would therefore go to the wall and drag still more jobbers and manufacturers down with them. All of these people would be unable to meet their loans at the banks. The banks would collapse

like pricked bubbles. All other industries would be drawn into the general ruin. And we would be plunged into an acute industrial crisis, with millions of men out of employment and millions of women and children crying for bread.

So, you see, that, while saving is a good thing for an individual so long as other people do not save, it would be a great disaster for all the people to save.

But, you say, while it is true that in order to save the thirty million dollars per week it would of course be necessary for the people to refrain from buying that much from the retail stores, it does not necessarily follow that they must hoard the money. They might invest it in business enterprises.

How could they?

They could not profitably invest it in wholesale or retail business enterprises when the demand for goods had been cut down thirty million dollars per week and stores and jobbers were consequently going to the wall.

They could not profitably invest it in productive, manufacturing enterprises, because that would increase the supply when the demand had been reduced and would make the disaster worse than ever.

There is no way around it.

The fact is that there is no virtue in saving.

Saving is not a virtue; it is merely a necessity, if one would escape financial worry under the present system.

A system which compels people to attempt to save for old age is vicious. The people ought not to have to save, or attempt to save, for old age.

They ought to be perfectly free to spend their incomes for their physical, mental, moral and spiritual development, without having to worry as to whether or not they are going to starve to death in their old age.

Socialism will provide conditions under which every person will have sufficient income to enable him to develop himself, physically, mentally, morally and spiritually. Moreover, in consideration of his services during the prime of his life, Socialism will give him an old age pension. In other words, his compensation will go right on after he gets too old to work.

He will, therefore, be safe in using his money to avail himself of the higher things of life. Instead of pinching and skimping, he can use his money to broaden his mind and make himself an intelligent and useful citizen.

It will not be necessary for him to save for old age.

It will only be necessary for him to save enough for the immediate future. And his income will be sufficiently large so that it will be an easy matter for him to do that without pinching.

THE DIRTY WORK

Who will do the dirty work in the Socialist commonwealth?

You needn't worry about that; I'll do it myself.

It has been suggested that we have the repub-

lican and democratic politicians do it, because they are used to doing dirty work.

But I will relieve them of the task. I'll do it myself.

The reason I will do it is because the hours of labor will be shorter in that employment than in any other, and I will, therefore, have most of my time to read, to study, and improve myself. I will have time to attend a university and study astronomy, and biology, and geology, and zoology, and chemistry, and mathematics, and language, and philosophy, and music, and art, and literature, and other attractive subjects too numerous to mention.

And I know a lot of bright fellows who will help me to do the dirty work for the same reason.

But the work won't be dirty very long.

When we post-graduate university students get out in our overalls doing the dirty work, one of my fellow workers will say, "Work, you're a student of science; you will be a disgrace to our university if you don't invent a machine to do this dirty work."

And I will reply, "You're another!"

Then we will begin to discuss the question in earnest, and we will all go home with the understanding that we are all to spend our spare time trying to figure out that machine.

We will combine our efforts.

In a few weeks the machine will be doing the work.

So, you can quit worrying about it.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

No, Socialism will not repeal the law of supply and demand.

But, shall we not have to fix arbitrarily the prices of products?

I do not think so. But if it were necessary it would not be impossible. It is done to a large extent under the present system.

The capitalistic United States government has set the price of the letter postage stamps sold in its postoffices at two cents. You can always find stamps at the postoffice, and you can always find butter at the grocery. The supply of stamps varies fully as much as the supply of butter does. The demand for stamps varies fully as much as the demand for butter does. The variation in the supply of butter and the demand for butter causes the price of butter to fluctuate. But the variation in the supply of stamps and the demand for stamps does not cause the price of stamps to fluctuate.

Has the capitalistic United States government repealed the law of supply and demand?

No, it has not repealed it, but it has set it aside. It has arbitrarily fixed the price of stamps.

If there were a thoroughly organized butter trust, it could arbitrarily fix the price of butter, too.

The trusts do constantly set aside the law of supply and demand by arbitrarily fixing prices. For example, the price of oil is not fixed by the law of supply and demand at all. It is arbitrarily fixed by the oil trust.

These instances demonstrate that the law of supply and demand can be regulated.

We Socialists do not propose to attempt to repeal the law of supply and demand, any more than the United States government and the trusts have done so. If it is necessary, we will set it aside, as they have done.

But I do not think it will be necessary. I can see no reason why we should have to fix arbitrarily the prices of products.

Of course, it will be necessary for us to put products into the hands of the consumer at their real value.

But, when profitmongers and middlemen are eliminated, the price of a product fixed by the law of supply and demand will, in my judgment, substantially coincide with its real value.

The object will thus be accomplished automatically.

ALWAYS HAVE BEEN AND ALWAYS WILL BE

No, things have not always been this way and they will not always be this way.

Things have always changed continually.

The man who can't see that must be blind, indeed.

We have always had street cars, for example, haven't we?

We always have had steam railways and we always will have them! It is all a dream that people used to ride in stage coaches! And there is no prospect of electricity ever taking the place of steam!

Certain muddle heads have tried to make us believe that the lights which appeared in the belfry on the night when Paul Revere watched for the signal and then made his memorable midnight ride from Boston to Lexington were made with tallow candles. But everybody knows that the colonial heroes merely turned on the electric lights! We have electric lights now, and, as things always have been this way, it follows that they had them in colonial days!

The historians have tried to delude the people by telling them that the negroes of the South were once chattel slaves and that two million soldiers went down there and freed them from chattel slavery! But that is all a hoax! The negroes of the South are now working for wages, and, as things always have been this way, it follows that they always have been wage slaves and never were chattel slaves at all!

What nonsense!

Things were not this way ten thousand years ago, nor five thousand years ago, nor one thousand years ago, nor five hundred years ago, nor one hundred years ago, nor fifty years ago, nor even ten years ago.

Before civilization began, society was not divided into classes. There was no master class. The tribes lived in a state of communism—not Socialism, but communism—and men made no attempt whatever to outdo or overreach one another financially.

For several centuries after civilization began, the people were divided into masters and chattel slaves.

For several centuries after that they were divided into feudal lords and serfs.

And, after the feudal system had run its course, the present wage system, or capitalist system, began.

Even seventy-five years ago, in this very United States, wealth was quite equitably distributed, and the people had approximately equal opportunities.

Even fifty years ago, the concentration of wealth into the hands of a few had not progressed very far.

Even twenty-five years ago, it had by no means reached its present stage.

Even ten years ago, the centralization of the industries into trusts and combines had not reached anything like its present stage of completion.

Labor saving machinery in all industries has developed and changed like a kaleidoscope before our very eyes.

Decidedly, things have not always been this way.

Still more decidedly, things will not always be this way.

This is a world of change, not of stagnation.

MONEY

How is the Socialist commonwealth going to get along without money?

It is not going to get along without money.

Even if the somewhat fanciful labor check should be adopted, it would be money.

But I do not know of any good reason why the dollar should not be retained.

It goes without saying that Socialism will abolish the national banking system. The money, of whatever kind it may be, will be issued by the public.

Of course, in the Socialist commonwealth labor will be the real measure of value, and money will merely be its expression. But labor can be expressed in dollars and cents as easily as in hours and minutes.

The dollar is not the cause of our present evils. Private ownership of the industries is the cause. When the industries are transformed from private to public, the sting is taken out of the dollar. It is rendered harmless. We can make further use of it without danger.

It is not the purpose of Socialism to discard anything that is useful.

The wonderfully luminous and marvelously convenient decimal system on which the dollar is based is not a thing to be lightly cast aside.

Besides, the people are thoroughly familiar with it. The retention of the dollar and cent would go a long way toward making the transition from capitalism to Socialism smooth.

Furthermore, there will be artists, authors, lecturers, preachers, special teachers, farmers, and others, in the Socialist commonwealth, who will not be working for the public. Our money will have to be sufficiently elastic to permit us, as individuals or private organizations, to purchase these people's wares, without vexatious red tape. The dollar seems to fill the bill better than anything else.

Anyway, we shall have money of some kind, and you will have a vote as to what kind it shall be.

HUMAN NATURE

No, we shall not have to change human nature in order to introduce Socialism.

But if we did, we should only be doing what is being done every day. For human nature is constantly being changed.

No change whatever in human nature is necessary in order to introduce Socialism, to abolish exploitation, to abolish poverty, to establish economic justice, and to operate the industries successfully.

While we Socialists sometimes appeal to men's moral sentiments and their ideals, we appeal chiefly to their self-interest.

It is to the self-interest of the masses of men to vote for Socialism.

The masses of men at the present time are governed chiefly by their self-interest.

Consequently, no change whatever in human nature is necessary in order to get men to vote for Socialism. All they have to do is to vote for their self-interest.

And when the Socialist party wins, no change whatever in human nature will be necessary in order to successfully operate the industries and insure justice to all the people.

A carpenter, or a merchant, or a farmer does not have to change his nature in order to become

a postmaster or a mail carrier, working for the public.

A woman does not have to change her nature in order to become a librarian or a teacher, working for the public.

Neither will people have to change their nature in order to work for the public in the Socialist commonwealth.

All that will be necessary to make the Socialist commonwealth a brilliant success, from the ordinary point of view, will be for men to follow their self-interest and try to achieve the greatest possible individual success for themselves. The nature of Socialism is such that one can only elevate himself by elevating everybody else.

So, to achieve success in the first stages and the primary objects of Socialism, no change whatever in human nature is necessary.

But, after the first stages of Socialism have been passed, after the primary objects of Socialism have been attained, after poverty and exploitation have been abolished, and after economic justice has been secured, it is expected that Socialism will gradually develop in its ideal beauty, that men will gradually lose their lower instincts, that they will become more interested in making the human race happy than in making themselves happy. In short, that selfishness will to a very large degree give way to unselfishness. In order to attain this advanced or ideal stage of Socialism, human nature will have to be changed. It will have to evolve to a higher stage of development. And Socialism will provide the conditions wherein it will be easy for human nature to make that change.

It would be strange indeed if human nature were unchangeable.

Human nature is not a fixed quantity.

It is not always the same.

It is a growth.

The whole world is a growth.

The earth itself began a gaseous mass and came to its present condition through a process of evolution.

The infinite and wonderful varieties of the vegetable kingdom came up from lower forms by an analogous system of development.

Every species of animal life was produced in the same way.

Can it be possible that man stands alone in the midst of an universe of development, a clod, a stone, immovable, unprogressive, stagnant, hopeless?

It is not so.

Man is the noblest product of evolution. He is immeasurably the highest product of the ages.

He has come up to his present stage of evolution from the lowest depths.

Human nature has been undergoing a gradual and fundamental change ever since man began.

At first his nature was that of a brute.

The brute nature has gradually, little by little, been thrown off. Altruism, unselfishness, thoughtfulness of others, have gradually, little by little, been taken on. This has gone on until at the present time, although man is still in a glaringly imperfect condition, yet his nature is now as high above the point from which he started as the blue vault of heaven is above the center of the earth.

The chief factor in this constant change in human nature has been environment.

Man is chiefly the product of his environment.

Men are as good as their surroundings will let them be.

They are still governed chiefly by self-interest because the economic conditions by which they are surrounded make them so.

When Socialism surrounds them with economic conditions wherein it will not be necessary for them to strive ever and always to down their fellow men, it is, therefore, logical to expect that human nature will change for the better with vastly greater rapidity than under the present cannibalistic system, and that men will continually become more and more unselfish until the ideal stage of Socialism is reached.

Meantime, let me remind you, as I said at the outset, that, in order to introduce Socialism, to abolish poverty and exploitation, to establish economic justice, to manage the industries successfully, and to give everybody full and free access to the higher things of life, no change whatever in human nature is necessary, because it is to the self-interest of the masses of the people to do these things.

CONFISCATION

No, Socialism will not confiscate the earnings of the industrious.

Capitalism confiscates the earnings of the industrious.

Capitalism takes the bulk of the earnings of the wage worker right away from him and hands them over to the capitalist.

It also takes the bulk of the earnings of the farmer away from him and hands them over to the capitalist.

There are some capitalists who were once mechanics, or farmers, or laborers of some kind, and who actually earned at least a portion of what they possess. In order to do justice to them, it will be necessary for Socialism to compensate them for that portion of their property which represents the product of their honest toil. This, in my judgment, can best be done by pensioning them.

But the property which has been actually earned by its possessors is scarcely a drop in the bucket.

The great overwhelming bulk of the industries have not been earned by the men who own them.

The men who own them have acquired them by appropriating to themselves the earnings of others.

In other words, they have stolen them.

It is true that they have stolen them legally. Or, at least, they have stolen a large portion of them legally.

But legal stealing is no more right than illegal stealing.

A capitalist has no more right to property which he did not earn than a burglar has.

This property ought, therefore, to be confiscated. It ought to be restored to its rightful owners, the whole people.

Society has a right to do whatever is best for society at large.

It is a law of nature that the interest of the individual shall be subordinated to the interest of the species.

Access to the means of production and distribution is positively necessary to any life, liberty, or pursuit of happiness worthy of the name. The private ownership of the means of production and distribution debars the masses of the people from access to them. It is not only right that we should wrest the means of production and distribution from the private owners, but it would also be right to compel them in addition, to pay us damages for having deprived us of our rightful property and liberty in the past.

Our forefathers set us an example of confiscation half a century ago.

They confiscated four million slaves, worth on the market something like four billion dollars. It was for the best interest of society at large that this should be done. The interest of the individual slave owner was subordinated to that of society.

The code of every state in the union provides that after a debt has remained unpaid for a certain length of time it shall become outlawed, or, as the lawyers say, it shall become barred by the statute of limitations. The debtor still owes you the money just as much as ever, but you cannot collect it from him. Society permits him to confiscate the amount from you by providing by law that you cannot collect it. The idea is that it is not best for society as a whole that these old matters should be allowed to hang on.

The interest of the individual creditor is subordinated to that of society.

Under the provisions of the bankruptcy law any man who owes more than he can pay can be relieved of the obligation to pay the balance of his debts, after turning in what property he now possesses. In other words, he can confiscate the balance of what he owes. The idea is that it is not best for society at large that men who are swamped with debt should be compelled to stagger along under the load. The interest of the individual creditors is subordinated to that of society at large.

To confiscate the means of production and distribution would be to carry out the same principle of subordinating the interest of the individual to that of society at large. The confiscation of the slaves, the statute of limitations, and the bankruptcy law furnish abundant precedents for the application of that principle, if you want any precedents.

The private ownership of the means of production and distribution cannot be defended for an instant.

You can no more justify it than you can justify the owning a chattel slave. I have demonstrated this in the chapter on Compensation for Risk.

It is impossible to do absolute justice in this matter.

To do absolute justice would necessitate compelling the capitalist class to compensate the rest of the people, not merely for the stolen property, but also for blighted lives, lack of education, the death of loved ones, crowded insane asylums, sor-

row, anguish, suicide, crime, prostitution, and all the rest of the horrors of capitalism.

But it is an impossibility for the capitalist class to either pay for these things or make them right in any way whatsoever.

So, it is impossible to do absolute justice in the matter.

The question, then, is how to come as near doing justice as possible.

Some have suggested that we build competing plants and let the old ones rot. That would not only be a waste of effort, but it would also be roundabout confiscation, because it would make the old plants valueless.

Others have suggested that we pay the possessors and then tax the money back into the public treasury. But that would also be roundabout confiscation.

For my part, I prefer the most direct and straightforward methods of doing things. If a majority of the American people decide to pay for the property taken, or to confiscate it in some roundabout manner, they have the sovereign right to do so. But, personally, I am in favor of point-blank confiscation of all property used for exploitation, except such property as represents the product of honest toil on the part of its possessors. I am in favor of compensating the latter by pensioning them. I am also in favor of pensioning all old people and all disabled people, whether exploiters or exploited.

POPULAR MANAGEMENT

No, public ownership alone is not Socialism.

When an industry is merely publicly owned, it is only half socialized.

It is not fully socialized until it is popularly managed, as well as publicly owned.

At the present time our publicly owned institutions are as a rule not popularly managed. Instead of being ruled from the bottom, they are ruled from the top.

Take the postoffice for example. It is a magnificent institution, but it is only half socialized. It is publicly owned, but it is not popularly managed. The postmaster general is appointed by the president. All the local postmasters are also appointed from above. So are the heads of departments, and the foremen, managers, superintendents, head clerks, etc.

In other words, the system of management is upside down.

Socialism will turn it right side up.

The men and women who work in the postoffice department should elect the foremen, managers, superintendents, and heads of departments, and should have complete power to discharge these officials at any time. The postmaster general should be elected, either by the people in general, or by the workers in the postoffice department. The local postmasters should be elected, either by the people of the communities they serve, or by the workers in the department in those localities. The general public should of course retain its right to exercise general supervision over the department and to alter or veto anything that does

not suit it.

That would be popular management of the postoffice department.

If such a system of management were in vogue, the department would be freed from the petty tyranny now exercised by the postmaster general, the local postmasters, and other officials. If they became offensive and unduly officious then, a vote would be taken on them and their official heads would come off.

The president of the United States should also be shorn of his despotic power over the department. He not only can, but does, tyrannize over the workers in the department. In 1904, the mail carriers set about in a perfectly orderly and peaceable manner to try to get Congress to raise their salaries. But the president of the United States peremptorily discharged the officers of the carriers' organization from the postal service and commanded the rest of them to desist from their efforts to influence Congress in their own behalf.

The President himself was working for the public just as they were. And he himself was taking an active part in politics, but he would not permit them to do so, although they were doing it in a mild and inoffensive manner.

The President himself was getting fifty thousand dollars a year for his services to the public, but he vigorously reprimanded them for trying to increase their tiny wages.

Neither the President nor any other official should have any power to tyrannize over public employes. Public employes, whether elected by popular vote, or by their fellow employes, or selected under civil service regulations, should be

perfectly free to take an active part in politics. They have just as much right to do so as the President has. There is no excuse whatever for compelling them to resign their rights of citizenship when they enter the public service.

Socialism will sweep away all those wretched little tyrannies.

Socialism will introduce popular management, not merely in the postoffice department, but in all other industries owned by the public.

Some people have had an idea that Socialism meant that we would all be bossed by a lot of officials.

But those people were not aware that Socialism means the popular management, as well as the public ownership, of the industries.

The officials will be at our mercy.

We can deprive them of their jobs whenever we feel like it.

Under such circumstances, they will know their place and will conduct themselves with becoming humility.

Socialism will rid us of the officious and bureaucratic officials whom we already have.

THE GOOD MAN FALLACY

No the good man theory will not hold water.

There are some men who have broken away from the old party ties, but who have fallen into the equally great fallacy of picking out the good men from all tickets and voting for them.

It no doubt seems to them to be reasonable to single out the good men and vote for them.

But it is altogether unreasonable and unwise. It will not bear the test of logical examination.

When correct principles have been adopted, and the elections therefore do not involve any question of principle, but merely involve the selection of the fittest persons to fill the various positions, the good man theory will become logical. But, so long as there are great principles involved in the elections, the good man theory is entirely illogical.

Every ticket stands for something.

The republican and democratic tickets, for example, stand for the dominance of the capitalist class. Every man on those tickets is pledged to principles which result in the dominance of the capitalist class.

No matter how good a candidate may be, he is bound by the principles of his party. He is bound, if elected, to do all in his power to carry out those principles.

It therefore becomes of supreme importance to ask, not whether a candidate is a good man, but whether he stands for right principles.

No matter if he is as good as an angel, if he stands for wrong principles it is foolish to vote for him.

If you are against the principles of the republican party, it is suicidal for you to vote for a republican just because he happens to be a good man. If you are against the principles of the democratic party, it is suicidal for you to vote for a democrat just because he happens to be a good man. It is suicidal in a minor election the same as a general election, for, every minor official elected is a material aid to his party in gaining

and maintaining control of state and national affairs.

The thing to do is to decide what party represents your views, and then vote that party's ticket straight. If it is the Socialist party, vote the Socialist ticket straight, without minutely examining the moral character of the candidates. If it is the republican party, vote the republican ticket straight, without minutely examining the moral character of the candidates. If it is the democratic party, vote the democratic ticket straight, without minutely examining the moral character of the candidates.

In any case, in any party, you may be sure that the character of the candidates will fit well with the principles they stand for, and that, if elected, most of them will be true to the essential principles of their party.

Even if a candidate is dishonest, you can in nearly every case trust him to be true to the essential principles of his party. To be false to those principles usually means political death to him. It is to his interest to be true to them.

For example, no matter how honest or dishonest a republican candidate may be, you can usually trust him to uphold the essential republican principles; that is, to vote for the interest of the capitalist class.

And, no matter how honest or dishonest a democratic candidate may be, you can usually trust him to be true to the essential democratic principles; that is, to vote for the interest of the capitalist class.

The great question, therefore, is, not whether

a candidate is honest or dishonest, but whether he is the candidate of a party that stands for right principles.

The Socialist party always nominates good men.

But, it does not ask anybody to vote for its candidates because they are good men.

It does ask every voter to vote for them because the Socialist party stands for right principles.

Political parties may some time become a thing of the past. I believe they will.

But, at the present time, they are decidedly a thing of the present. At the present time, they are absolutely necessary in order to gain a political end.

The man, therefore, who does not ally himself with any party, is a political exile. He is a voluntary exile. He poses as an independent voter, and takes great credit to himself on that account. But, as a matter of fact, he deserves censure, instead of praise, for being a so-called independent voter at this stage of human progress when political parties are altogether necessary in order to gain the adoption of principles.

When he fails to line up with any party, he throws himself open to the suspicion that he hasn't any principles. If he has any principles, why doesn't he ally himself with the party which most nearly stands for them?

As long as he is a so-called independent voter, pottering around voting for candidates of all parties because they are good men, he is a political nonentity.

He votes for one principle in one column of the

ballot, and then goes over in another column and nullifies his vote.

He throws away his vote.

He also throws away his vote if he votes a citizens' ticket, or an independent ticket, or a union labor ticket. Such tickets are mere flashes. They have no permanence. There is no stability to them. Even when they stand for good principles, it is throwing away one's vote to vote for them. They may win one minor election, or even two minor elections. But, having no general organizations, they are doomed sooner or later to be annihilated by some party that has a general organization. They are temporary. They are flashes in the pan. They are bog lights. They are will o' the wisps.

The thing to do is to tie to a party that stands for something in national and international affairs.

Then, when you win, even in a minor election, you have made a step toward the realization of your principles.

And if you do not win, you have also made a step toward the realization of your principles, because you have strengthened and built up the party that stands for them and proposes to carry them out.

PATRIOTISM

No, Socialism is not unpatriotic.

Capitalism is unpatriotic.

Capitalism stands for everything that tends to

degrade, debauch and destroy the nation and the people.

Socialism stands for everything that tends to purify and uplift them.

The republican and democratic parties, both of which stand for the continuation of capitalism, pretend to be very patriotic.

Samuel Johnson said that patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel. Of course he meant that false or pretended patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel; or, in other words, that a scoundrel endeavors to hide his crimes and his criminal intentions and ingratiate himself in the hearts of the people by pretending to be patriotic. That false, pretended patriotism is the kind of patriotism the republican and democratic parties have.

Their patriotism is pure buncombe.

It is pure pretense.

They do not have one spark of love for just principles of government. On the contrary, their entire purpose is to perpetuate injustice.

The only true patriotism there is in America is in the Socialist party.

Some people think the Socialists are unpatriotic because they unsparingly criticise the evils of the day. But, he is the best patriot who boldly confronts the evils, lays them bare, and proceeds to remedy them, as the Socialists do. Others think the Socialists are unpatriotic because they talk about revolution. But these same people can talk glibly about the revolution of 1776, without a thought of disapproval. Some of our fair ladies whose ancestors took part in that revolution have an organization whose name is Daughters of the American Revolution.

That doesn't scare anybody, does it?

Then, why should anybody get scared when a Socialist speaks of the revolution that is about to come?

Perhaps it is because people think we mean a bloody revolution.

But, the revolution the Socialists are working for is a peaceful revolution at the ballot box—a revolution from the private ownership of the industries for the benefit of a few to the public ownership of the industries for the benefit of all. We propose to do everything within reason to make this revolution peaceful. If it should be bloody, it will not be our fault.

Then others think the Socialists are unpatriotic because they sometimes carry a red flag.

But, these people do not know the significance of the red flag. They think it means bloodshed and anarchy.

The red flag signifies that all men are brothers. It so happens that, although men are very different in many other respects, they all have red blood in their veins. Red blood is common to them all. So, the red flag is the banner of brotherhood. It is the international banner of the working class. It has been the banner of the working class for thousands of years. In the struggle for liberty, myriads of heroic workingmen have fought and died beneath its folds. Is it any wonder we love it?

Old Glory is a national banner. I do not know of any valid reason why a Socialist should not appreciate those who fought the battles of their own generations, the battles which had to be fought in the course of the evolution of the race

toward Socialism. For my part, I do appreciate them, and I love the banner they fought under, the stars and stripes.

Capitalism is trailing the flag in the dust.

Socialism will rescue it.

Capitalism makes the stars and stripes stand for everything that is brutal, infamous and unjust.

Socialism will make the stars and stripes stand for everything that is just, noble and uplifting.

So, even in the old sense of the term patriotism, the Socialists are the only true patriots.

The old idea is that patriotism is love of country.

But that is only a portion of the truth.

True patriotism is love of the whole world, love of the whole human race.

A man whose patriotism stops with the boundaries of his own country is only an embryo patriot. He is undeveloped.

And a man who cherishes a feeling of hostility toward other countries is a jingo pervert.

National boundary lines are arbitrary. It is necessary that they should exist because the world is too big to be one nation.

Some day—and it is not far distant either—Tennyson's dream of a federation of the world will come true. But, national boundary lines will no doubt still exist. They will exist for the reason that they are of practical convenience and necessity in carrying on the affairs of the world. That is the only valid reason there has ever been for their existence. They should be regarded, not as fortifications that separate us from the foe, but merely as lines drawn for convenience,

to show where our field of labor leaves off and where our brothers' fields begin.

The Socialist party is imbued with this new, this broad patriotism.

The Socialist party believes that all men are brothers and that all the world is kin. It knows that the reason men are divided into warring classes is because under the present capitalist system they have hostile economic interests. It stands for the natural and only method of ending the class struggle and bringing about conditions wherein men can live up to their kinship.

The Socialist party has chosen for its emblem a globe with clasped hands across it. It knows that the sole reason why the nations of the world bristle up and snarl at each other is because of the present economic arrangements. And it knows that the interests of the great majority of human beings demand such changes in the economic arrangements as will make it no longer necessary for the nations to bristle up and snarl at each other.

The Socialists are against war.

I do not mean by this that we would refuse to fight, under any and all circumstances. I do not mean that we are apostles of the doctrine of non-resistance. I do not mean that we would stand still and let ourselves be slaughtered. I do not mean that we would refrain from taking up arms and waging aggressive warfare in a just cause.

Far from it.

If the cause of human freedom demanded it, we would shoulder our guns and get in line.

But we are in favor of peace, just the same.

And we are in favor of the only economic measures that can insure peace.

The time has gone by when the nations want to fight each other just for the fun of the thing, just because they are of warlike disposition. Every war nowadays has some cause different from that. And, in every instance, that cause is rooted in the present economic system.

Under the present capitalist system of industry, the industries in each nation are owned by a few capitalists. They hire wage slaves to do the work. Labor saving machinery has made the productivity of these wage slaves enormous. The capitalists pay them as wages just enough for them barely to live on and raise children. As this is only a fraction of the value of their labor, it naturally follows that they are only able to buy back a fraction of their product. They could consume it all if they could get it, but they can't get it because their incomes are too small to buy it. The capitalists and their retainers are unable to consume all the balance. Consequently, there is a great surplus that has to seek a market abroad.

Every civilized nation is in this condition. Every civilized nation is therefore constantly on the lookout to preserve its markets abroad, and to secure new ones if possible, and also to gain or retain opportunities for the investment of surplus capital.

Right there lies the cause of all modern wars.

Right there lay the cause of the Spanish-Cuban war.

Right there lay the cause of the Spanish-American war.

Right there lay the cause of the Philippine war.

Right there lay the cause of the Boxer trouble in China.

Right there lay the cause of the Boer war.

Right there lay the cause of the Russo-Japanese war.

Every one of these wars was fought for the purpose of either gaining or retaining foreign or colonial markets and gaining or retaining opportunities for the investment of surplus capital.

For identically the same reason, all the nations of the world are at swords' points. They are all maintaining immense navies for the sole and only purpose of gaining and retaining foreign and colonial markets and gaining and retaining opportunities for the investment of surplus capital.

Right there also lies the secret of imperialism.

Imperialism is a necessary and inevitable outcome of capitalism. So long as capitalism, with its wholesale robbery of the working class, continues, the nations must seek an outlet for the stolen goods, the surplus product, and for the surplus capital. Therefore they must be imperialistic. Any man who opposes imperialism and at the same time upholds the capitalist system is short-sighted and illogical. He can not logically oppose imperialism unless he at the same time opposes capitalism and advocates Socialism. For Socialism is the only cure for imperialism.

And Socialism is the only cure for war.

Socialism will put an end to war and imperialism because it will put an end to the fierce contest for foreign markets and foreign investments.

When Socialism is introduced, the men and women who do the necessary and useful mental

and manual work of the world will receive the full product. They will consume it themselves. If they are not able to consume it all, they will shorten their hours of labor and not produce so much. As a matter of course they will exchange products with foreign nations, each nation getting those things which it desires. But they will not have any occasion at all to engage in a scramble for foreign markets. And, as for foreign investments, they will not be in the investing business.

Therefore, when all nations are socialized, the cause of war will be gone.

The navies can be placed in the Socialist museum.

Some people have been inclined to scoff at us Socialists because of our opposition to war. They have contemptuously declared that our expectation of bringing war to an end is utopian.

But, when the cause of war is once realized, it is easy to see that Socialism will remove that cause, and that, therefore, the end of war is a certainty instead of an idle dream.

The Socialists have already made their influence felt in preventing war.

When Germany and France were spatting over Morocco, in 1905, the German and French Socialists were unanimously of the opinion that the German and French workingmen had no quarrel with each other and that it would be folly for them to help their masters, the capitalists, to fight with each other over foreign markets and foreign investments. Without a doubt, their opposition to war had a great deal of influence in causing the two nations to settle the question peaceably.

It is useless for the capitalists to enter into a

war, unless they can foment hatred among the people, so that they will go forth and fight the battles, while the capitalists themselves keep at a safe distance.

The capitalists may not be invincible in peace, but they are certainly invisible in war.

All modern wars are fought for their benefit, but they let their dupes, the workingmen, do the fighting.

When the workingmen are not foolish enough to consent to do the fighting, the war has to be called off.

When Norway declared herself independent of Sweden, the capitalists of Sweden wanted to force her back into the alliance, because the two nations combined could exercise more power and influence in foreign affairs; that is, in the gaining and retaining of foreign markets and opportunities for investment. But the Socialists of Sweden declared that they would refuse to fight against the workingmen of Norway. And, as nearly all the workingmen of Sweden are Socialists, the capitalists were compelled to abandon the war project.

So, the Socialists have already prevented war to some extent.

As fast as the Socialists become more numerous, war will become less frequent.

And when the Socialists gain control of all the nations, war will cease altogether.

The Socialists are imbued with the wider patriotism. They know that the interests of the workingmen of all civilized countries are identical, and not antagonistic.

They believe in the federation of the world.

Some day, as August Bebel says, there will be a world parliament, formed of representatives of all the civilized nations, which will regulate international relations and render them more and more stable.

THE RACE PROBLEM

What are we Socialists going to do with the negro?

We are going to give him justice along with the rest.

The prejudice against the negro is by no means confined to the South. It is just as strong in the North as it is in the South. The only reason it does not show itself as much in the North is because the negroes are fewer in number.

I do not mean that everybody is prejudiced against the negro. There are exceptions.

The blacks are prejudiced against the whites as much as the whites against the blacks. And they certainly have good reason to be.

This prejudice between the races is fostered and increased by economic friction. The negro naturally hates the whites because they quietly and persistently keep him down. A white man hates a negro who competes with him in business. Under the present system, the higher education of the negro aggravates this condition. A white workingman hates a negro who competes with him for a job. Under the present system, the industrial education of the negro aggravates this condition. Negroes are sometimes used by the capitalists as strike breakers. This of course ag-

gravates race prejudice to the point of inflammation. When a negro victim of manifold economic injustice assaults a white woman, this again fans race prejudice into a flame.

This race prejudice in deplorable. It is a badge of mediocrity. It shows that, in spite of our marvelous advancement, we are not developed as far from the beast as we might be. To a highly developed person, race prejudice is a stranger. In a condition of universal enlightenment, race prejudice could not exist.

Nevertheless, this race prejudice is a fact. And facts must always be taken into account.

The whites brought the negroes here, for economic reasons. The negroes came against their will. The whites should never forget that fact.

However, neither the present generation of whites nor the present generation of blacks is to blame for the existence of the race problem.

We are all here.

Let's solve the problem in a way that will do justice to us all.

The negro is entitled to be guaranteed an opportunity to earn a living, the same as a white man. He is entitled to the full value of his labor, the same as a white man. He is entitled to a vote in the government to which he is compelled to submit, the same as a white man.

Socialism will guarantee him the exercise of these rights. Socialism will therefore open up to him the avenues to all the higher things of life and give him a chance to develop himself. Socialism will remove the economic friction between the races.

As for the bugaboo of social intercourse, I have

shown in the chapter on Communism that Socialism will release you from having to associate with the white people who are disagreeable to you, but with whom you are now compelled to associate. In the same manner, Socialism will release you from having to associate with black people if they are disagreeable to you. It will also release the negroes from having to associate with white people.

All the Socialist party proposes to do with the negro is to give him economic justice. Social gravitation will do the rest.

Under present conditions the negroes and the whites are compelled to live in the same localities because the negroes work for the whites.

Under Socialism, it will be entirely feasible for the negroes to live in localities by themselves, if they so desire, and run the public industries of those localities. Since the negroes as a rule do not like to associate with the whites, but prefer the company of their own people, it is probable that when Socialism makes their voluntary segregation possible, they will take advantage of it, thus gaining the opportunity to work out their own development, which was so rudely wrenched from its natural course by the slave trade of long ago.

Undoubtedly, when the whites no longer need the negroes about them for economic reasons, many of the whites will also be in favor of the segregation of the races, and will assist the tendency in that direction by that quiet but powerful urge which they have become past masters in administering.

If segregation takes place, it should take place

by natural gravitation, not by statute law. We have had quite enough attempts to solve the race problem by force.

Of one thing we may be certain. Whether segregation takes place or not, the highly cultured men and women of the two races will insist upon perfect freedom of association with each other. They will not be willing to forego the benefits and pleasures of intellectual intercourse, in deference to an unworthy prejudice.

The white race can well afford to do justice to the black race. It might afford to do more than justice. It certainly can not afford to do less.

The removal of economic friction between the races, and the higher development of both whites and blacks, will cause race prejudice to gradually fade away and finally disappear.

A BIG UNDERTAKING

But Socialism is a mighty big undertaking.

Of course it is a big undertaking.

What of it?

The American people are not in the habit of backing down before a big undertaking.

If the public can manage the United States army for warlike purposes, it can manage its collective self in peaceful pursuits.

If it can manage the United States navy, it can manage the ocean passenger and freight business.

If it can operate the postoffice, it can operate the telegraph, telephone, express and railroad lines.

If it can make warships, it can make automobiles and self-binders.

If it can make rifles, it can make knives and forks.

If it can make army saddles, it can make boots and shoes.

If it can manage experimental farms like those at the agricultural colleges, it can manage more extensive agricultural industries.

If it can run an army and navy hospital, it can run a drug store.

If it can irrigate land, it can dig coal.

If it can build bridges, it can build factories.

If it can sell stamps, it can sell groceries.

If it can supply the people with water and gas, it can run a laundry.

If it can supply food for an army and a navy, it can run a hotel and a restaurant.

If it can run a state university, it can run a packing house.

If it can manage an insane asylum, it can manage an oil refinery.

If it can run a fire department, it can manufacture wagons, ladders and hose.

If it can pave streets, it can make brick and asphalt.

If it can run the public schools, it can run the street cars.

A big undertaking?

So was the establishment of the American republic a big undertaking. But it was accomplished just the same.

A big undertaking?

So was the emancipation of the chattel slaves a big undertaking. But when the American people

were thoroughly convinced that it ought to be done they arose in their might and did it.

And when the American people are thoroughly convinced that the Socialist commonwealth ought to be established, no matter how big an undertaking it may be, they will get down to businsess and establish it.

The occasion always produces the men and the means to cope with it.

When the time was ripe for the American republic to be born, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin and the rest of the revolutionary heroes reported for duty, and the means of accomplishing the desired end were discovered and applied.

When the time was ripe for the emancipation of the chattel slaves, Abraham Lincoln and his fellow heroes were on the spot, and the means of accomplishing the result were evolved and the project carried out.

And when the American people become convinced of the fact that the time is now ripe for the establishment of Socialism, the men of mature wisdom and sound deliberate judgment will be available, and the means whereby the desired result is to be attained will not be lacking.

THE CONSTITUTION

No, we shall not have to violate the constitution of the United States in order to introduce Socialism.

But if we did we would only be following a time-honored custom.

Every time a political party meets in national convention and nominates candidates for president and vice president, it violates the spirit of the constitution.

Every time a judge sends a man to jail, or fines him, for contempt of court, he violates the constitution, which says in so many words that the trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury.

The democratic party is making a continuous violation of the constitution by depriving the Southern negroes of the ballot.

The republican party is making a continuous violation of the constitution by failing to cut down the number of congressmen from those Southern states which have disfranchised the negroes.

So you see the republicans and democrats do not hesitate to violate the constitution persistently whenever it suits their purpose to do so.

Therefore, they could not consistently object if we did it.

But we do not intend to do it.

Well, then, shall we not have to pass a series of constitutional amendments?

No, not in order to introduce Socialism. We may need to do so in order to change specific provisions of the constitution.

It would require a separate pamphlet to treat this question in detail. I will only give an outline of the situation.

The constitution gives Congress the power to provide for the general welfare of the United States. Socialism is for the general welfare of the United States. Therefore, Congress can pass

the necessary laws for the introduction of Socialism without any constituional amendment.

A controversy about the meaning of the general welfare clause began immediately after the constitutional convention of 1787 adjourned. The supreme court decided that it did not mean what it said, but was a subordinate, explanatory clause. Under that decision, Congress could not pass laws introducing Socialism. But that decision is altogether erroneous. Congress can, therefore, pass the necessary laws in spite of it.

But will not the supreme court declare those laws unconstitutional?

The supreme court has no power to declare a law unconstitutional.

It is tyranny for nine men to overrule the will of the people of the United States.

It is an insult to the framers of the constitution to charge them with having given the supreme court any such arbitrary power.

They did not do it.

The constitution does not say it.

The supreme court usurped that power, and, like so many other usurpations and encroachments, it has simply been acquiesced in.

Therefore, if the supreme court declares a law passed by the Socialist congress unconstitutional, the Socialist congress can simply declare that it is constitutional and go ahead and carry it into effect.

Of course, Congress could enlarge the supreme court, fill it with Socialist justices, and then get the right decision. But the supreme court, or any other court, whether capitalist or Socialist, has no right to declare a law unconstitutional.

So, we can introduce Socialism without a constitutional amendment.

But suppose we should want to change some specific clause in the constitution. Suppose, for example, that we wanted to abolish the United States senate.

That would require a constitutional amendment.

Should we have to get a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress and a majority vote of the legislatures or special conventions of three-fourths of the states, as provided by the constitution, before we could pass that amendment?

Not necessarily.

Why?

Because that provision in the constitution, requiring practically a three-fourths vote in order to amend it, is null and void.

Much as we may admire our forefathers, they had not he slightest right or power to bind us by a provision which is flatly against majority rule.

We are not under the slightest obligation to obey that provision.

Any provision that is opposed to the principle of majority rule is against public policy.

Any provision that is opposed to the principle of majority rule is null and void.

We should proceed just as if it did not exist.

We can amend the constitution by a majority vote.

INEVITABILITY OF SOCIALISM

Why do we insist that Socialism is inevitable?

Because Socialism is not an arbitrary plan, scheme or invention, but is the logical and natural goal of economic evolution.

Then, why do we insist upon working for it with such ceaseless activity and indomitable energy?

Because it can be hastened by its friends and delayed by its enemies. And because in saying that it is inevitable we take into account, not only economic evolution, but also the well known qualities of human nature. It would not be inevitable if it were not a certainty that human beings will work for it as soon as they realize that it is to their interest to do so. It can not introduce itself, without the aid of human beings. We must enlighten people about it. We must also guide its course safely away from republican and democratic pitfalls, and set our political house in order for its reception.

Socialism is the next step in the evolution of the human race. For centuries, we have been getting ready to take that step, and the time is just now ripe for the taking of the step.

Time was when the tools in all industries were simple and inexpensive. Each worker was able to accomplish his task without the assistance of others. It was natural that under such circumstances each worker should own his own tools.

But tools have developed into marvelous labor saving machines. The worker is not able to own the machinery. And he is no longer able to turn

out his product without assistance. He has to co-operate with many others in producing. The development of labor saving machinery made this a necessity. The workers have to work together. It is therefore natural that they should now own the industries together.

Time was when each worker produced his own food, built his own house, and made his own clothes. He was practically independent of his fellow men. Private ownership was natural at that time.

But the industrial development from the hand tool to the labor saving machine, from small industry to great industry, has made such a life impossible. It has specialized the industries. It is no longer possible for us to get along without our fellow men. Industrial development has made us all mutually interdependent. It is to our interest to co-operate with each other. It is therefore natural that the people should now own the industries together.

The wage worker works part of the day for his wages and the rest of the day for nothing. It is a certainty that so long as the present capitalist system exists, the workers, by their labor, will enrich the few owners of the industries, instead of getting the benefit of their labor themselves. In order to get the benefit of their labor themselves, they must have the public ownership and the popular management of the industries which are now used for the purpose of robbing them.

The capitalists set the price of what the farmer sells. They also set the price of what the farmer buys. They pluck him in both operations, and thus lift the bulk of the value of his product right

out of his hands and put it into their own pockets. In order to get the benefit of their labor themselves, the farmers also must have the public ownership and the popular management of those industries which are used for the purpose of robbing the workers.

So, Socialism becomes the logical, the natural and the necessary result of the evolution of the hand tool into the labor saving machine and the development of small industry into great industry. The development of the industries into trusts and combines has ripened them for public ownership.

There is simply no other way for the people to come into their own.

The present capitalist system, by its own inherent nature, must infallibly work its own downfall.

Capitalism, like an ill-starred victim of an incurable disease, carries within itself the germ that dooms it to death.

Practically every move made by the capitalist class hastens the doom of capitalism. When they settle labor troubles by raising wages, they whet the appetite of the workingmen for the full value of their labor, which they can only get through the Socialist ballot. When they settle labor troubles by lowering wages, they convince the workingmen that the Socialist ballot is their only hope. When they increase productivity, by the introduction of new machinery, or by the further centralization of industry into trusts and combines, they hasten the day of chronic overproduction, or under-consumption, when the people will be forced to introduce Socialism or starve to death.

It is the very nature and essence of capitalism to concentrate wealth into the hands of a few. The more wealth a man acquires, the more he is able to squeeze out of other men.

When modern industry began to develop, the men who secured possession of the industries became wealthy. At that time they were considered wealthy if they were worth only a few thousand dollars. As time went on, they crowded their competitors out of business wherever possible and kept on increasing their wealth by pocketing the proceeds of other men's toil, until, in awestruck whispers, men began to be pointed out whose fortunes ran up into the hundreds of thousands.

Then came millionaires.

Then multi-millionaires.

Then men worth a hundred million.

And two hundred million.

And three hundred million.

And, now, there are three or four men in America who are probably billionaires.

This process has been one of infinite tragedy.

One by one, the smaller businesses have been ruined by the big concerns.

Dun and Bradstreet report from a hundred and fifty to three hundred business failures every week with the regularity of clockwork.

This long and excruciating tragedy has hurled millions of small business men into the ranks of the working class, and shattered the opportunities of the rest of them under this system.

On page fifty-three of the Statistical Atlas of the United States, which is a part of the 1900 Census Report, prepared by the enemies of Socialism and published by the government, it is stated that

eighty per cent of the male, gainfully occupied population of the United States consists of wage earners.

The development of capitalism has therefore constantly decreased the number of men whose interests demand the retention of capitalism. And it has just as constantly increased the number of men whose interests demand the destruction of capitalism and the introduction of Socialism. So, at the present time, the men whose interests demand the destruction of capitalism and the introduction of Socialism are in the overwhelming majority. The only reason they have not already destroyed capitalism and introduced Socialism is because they have not understood the situation. Nothing enslaves but ignorance. But the ignorance is fast being dispelled.

So, I say that capitalism carries within itself the germ that dooms it to death.

Its overthrow, and the consequent introduction of Socialism, is just as inevitable as the relentless march of time.

But it can be hastened, and it can be delayed. See that you hasten it.

FORWARD

I am bold enough to believe that any honest investigator will agree with me that capitalism is a mere temporary make-shift, and that Socialism is to be its natural, necessary and inevitable successor.

If I am correct in this diagnosis of the state of

your mind I have one more very important word to say to you by way of conclusion.

Read the fundamental Socialist works and take an active part in the Socialist party organization.

It is of supreme importance that every Socialist should be thoroughly grounded in the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism.

It is likewise of supreme importance that every Socialist should co-operate with every other Socialist by aggressive activity in the Socialist party organization.

The Socialist party has started upon its career with a full knowledge of its high mission. The time has come in the history of the world for conscious evolution. We Socialists know full well that the economic laws compel the abolition of capitalism and the introduction of Socialism. And we have deliberately organized the Socialist party in order to make the transition from capitalism to Socialism as smooth and easy and rapid as possible.

In order to do this successfully it is necessary for us to remove economic bewilderment from the minds of the people and put the clear, simple truth in its place. It is necessary for us to send speakers to every corner of the land. It is necessary for us to put Socialist literature in the hand of every adult in America. And it is necessary to keep on doing this until the object is accomplished.

To do this requires an aggressive and systematic organization, ramifying into every locality in the country.

The importance of systematic and effective organization can not be overestimated.

It was the effort put forth by the organized Socialists of America that brought us our splendid victory in the presidential election.

Remember that.

Organization is the key to success.

Remember that.

Turn it over and over in your mind.

Let it filter into your blood.

The capitalist class has no fear of a million unorganized Socialists.

It is the organized Socialist party with its batteries that never sleep, that gives them the cold shivers. The calm confidence of the organized Socialist party is the most terrific fact the capitalists ever encountered.

The Socialist party is a rank and file party. Every act of every officer is subject to referendum vote of the membership. Every officer is also subject to recall by vote of the membership.

The Socialist party never slumbers, never sleeps. It carries on an incessant agitation between campaigns as well as during campaigns.

It intends that Socialism shall be speedily realized.

Anyone at all acquainted with the industrial situation, and with the temper of the magnificent army of Socialists of this and other lands will look upon this as a positive certainty.

In the Socialist the zeal of the crusader is combined with political common sense—a combination which must win.

The Socialist is not a quitter.

He is here to stay.

The future is his.

He is the man of destiny.

He is practical.

He is the only man who has interpreted the spirit of the age.

He is the only man who has read the signs of the times.

He is the only man who has discovered the shadows which coming events are casting before them.

He proclaims the truth.

He is, therefore, invulnerable.

He draws his shining lance and challenges every other school of economic thought in the world to meet him in the arena of debate.

And they slink away like whipped curs, conscious that they are in the wrong.

Socialism is the next step in the evolution of humanity.

The world is being urged toward it with winged speed by the action of irresistible economic laws.

The fingers of all past ages point forward to it.

In a world of trouble, sorrow, poverty, ignorance and anguish, Socialism is the only hope.

Without it, all is gloom, the times are out of joint, and the world has gone crazy.

With it, the world is sane, and the future is bright with better things.